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The Week

HEAT and drought rendered the nation unable to think of much else during the week. Though rains came in parts of the driest regions and better weather was promised, it was too late to save most of the spring wheat crop. Cattle were seriously threatened by lack of feed and forage. Between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000 persons were immediately affected; crops losses were estimated at $300,000,000; various relief measures were pushed and a tremendous impetus was given to the plan to return the "dustbowl" to grass in order to stop the erosion resulting from cultivation. In spite of this great calamity, the administration announced that there need be no fear of food shortage and that high food prices were unjustified. One wonders what economic calamity the farmers might therefore have suffered if nature had not reduced their crops. . . .

Next in importance were the events in the labor movement. John L. Lewis' radio speech gave the steel organizing campaign its initial push; dispatches from steel towns indicated that the employers by the usual methods of intimidation were proceeding to "safeguard" their workers against union "interference." In the face of this major battle, the hard-shell reactionary leaders in the A.F. of L. threatened to split the labor army by suspending the unions conducting the steel organizing campaign, unions that comprise one-third of the Federation's membership. . . . The political campaign languished while preparatory work continued. Governor Landon asked for and obtained passage by the Kansas legislature of a state constitutional amendment that would let the state take advantage of the federal social-security law—a law the Republicans denounce.

IN Europe Hitler marched ahead on his predetermined program by a new accord with Austria, discussed in a longer editorial on page 309. This surprise move, coupled with Italy's reluctance to attend the proposed meeting of the Locarno powers unless German delegates are invited, probably means postponement of the conference, which was to have discussed what could be done about the Locarno treaty, in view of the fact that it was smashed by Germany's rearmament of the Rhineland. Nazis made aggressive moves in the free city of Danzig, causing speculation as to whether Hitler would not strike next in that quarter. . . . Great Britain's new appropriations for armament reached the unprecedented figure of £200,000,000. . . . The powers agreed to the refortification of the Dardanelles by Turkey, and disagreed only as to the provisions regulating passage of war vessels. . . . The South China movement to force Nanking to fight Japanese aggression appeared to be on the point of collapsing; Japan continued her policy of penetration and proposed the construction of strategic railways. . . . Premier Blum's government in France was pledged to take measures to end the last of the "sit-down" strikes and to avert the threatened strike of agricultural workers; this it proposed to do by conciliatory methods if possible; if it resorts to force in the end it will probably lose the support of the Communists. . . . The general tendency of the week was a weakening of French influence in Central Europe, a weakening of reliance on collective security, further gains

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for the Fascist powers and a strengthening of the drift toward the old system of hostile alliances.

A SLIGHT hope appeared for the ultimate power of the National Labor Relations Board when it was sustained by a unanimous vote of the Circuit Court of Appeals in New York in its case against the Associated Press. On the basis of a decision by a special examiner, Dean Charles E. Clark of the Yale Law School, the Board had ordered the Associated Press to reinstate Morris Watson, on the ground that he had been discharged for union activity as a member of the Newspaper Guild. The Associated Press challenged the ruling in the courts, alleging that it is not engaged in interstate commerce and hence is not subject to the law, and also attacking the law on constitutional grounds. The A.P. will probably appeal to the United States Supreme Court, but the case cannot be decided until next winter, and meanwhile the authority of the Board is upheld. It is interesting that this great news agency, governed by the principal newspapers of the country, acts just like any reactionary big-business employer when it faces the problem of the rights of labor. The Court also sustained the Board in four other cases, in which employers had sought to interfere with its actions by injunction. One case the Board lost—that involving a clothing manufacturer who, the judges decided, was not engaged in interstate commerce. In this matter they were following the clear principle laid down by the Supreme Court, that manufacturing does not fall under the constitutional power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce—a principle that is economically as absurd as it is for the present legally binding.

THE American Institute of Public Opinion reveals in its latest poll that Governor Landon now has sufficient popular support to give him a majority of seven votes in the electoral college, though President Roosevelt has a majority of 51.8 percent of all votes cast. The President's popularity has dropped four points since the June poll. According to the Institute, thirteen states, with ninety-nine electoral votes, are safely Republican, that is, have a Republican majority of 54 percent or more. These are the New England states, plus Delaware, New Jersey and most of the prairie states. The Republicans have a slighter advantage in eleven states with 173 electoral votes. These are scattered from Colorado to New York. The total electoral vote in all these states is 272. The Democrats have 24 safe states and three close ones, with a total of 259 electoral votes. No matter who wins, the election appears certain to be close. We shall hear more about straw votes as the campaign progresses. How valid are they as forecasts of the election? As an index of public opinion, they are as valid as the cross section of the public polled is representative. But elections are only rough reflections of public opinion, for the amount of money spent on election day, the efficiency of the party organizations in getting out the vote, even the weather, all affect the result. A straw vote, properly conducted, may be as accurate an index of opinion as an election, but a straw vote cannot predict an election with perfect accuracy. Any poll that comes within three percent of the popular vote will be as accurate as it is humanly likely to be, but in the case of this particular test, a shift of three percent to Landon would add only 30 electoral votes to his total; a similar shift to Roosevelt would give him 432 electoral votes.

THE national income produced, according to the Department of Commerce, was about $52,600,000,000 in 1935. Those who wish to emphasize recovery will point out that this is 34 percent better than in 1932; those who wish to emphasize the need for improvement will point out that it is about one-third below 1929. Changing price levels affect both comparisons. The percentage of the total income going to wages and salaries, including the big executives as well as the wage-earners, was 67 percent in 1935 as compared with 64 percent in 1932 and 65.5 percent in 1929. Agriculture's share was also larger than in either of the other two years, being 9.1 percent, as compared with 5.9 percent in 1932 and 8.9 percent in 1929. Neither labor nor farmers, however, can buy as much as in 1929. Their larger share is of a smaller income, and the cost of living has not fallen so much since 1929 as their total compensation. Dividends have recovered more than wages, but if 1929 is taken as the basis, they had much more to recover. They are further below the boom level now than wages are. The Department of Commerce regards as particularly hopeful the fact that last year income paid out was only a little larger than income produced, business dipping less into its savings than in previous depression years.

EVERY little while the nation loses by death a man of whom the public scarcely knows, yet who represents the qualities most rare and most desirable in the modern world. Such a man was Henry Wright, architect and town planner. Mr. Wright not only understood thoroughly the technique of his own profession, but he was able to relate it to the conditions surrounding it. He was at once scientific and immensely partial to social and esthetic advance. He made pioneer studies of the wasteful layouts of our houses, city lots, street patterns, city layouts, with the purpose of developing really useful and satisfying housing communities. His solutions were ingenious and creative. He was not only imaginative but practical in his application of the principles he developed. Furthermore, he worked not as an isolated individual but in collaboration with varied abilities and talents, regardless of whether he received the credit or even the pay. His teaching also helped to spread the influence of his work. Personally he was as independent and courageous as any rugged individualist; perhaps his greatest fault was to attribute to mere stupidity the opposition that frequently developed from the economic set-up and

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vested rights. But he never became discouraged, and at least a few tangible achievements bear witness to his work—war housing, Sunnyside and Radburn, Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, Rosenwald Housing in Chicago. Our present social environment is unfavorable for such men, but many more of them are needed if modern society is to realize its potentialities.

THE few changes made by the Third American Youth Congress, held recently at Cleveland, in its declaration of rights, are minor ones. The Congress added a phrase to include religious freedom among the civil liberties it defended, declared its wish to coöperate with youth movements in other countries, and struck out a demand for an immediate workers' and farmers' government. The only real controversy arose when a minority, led by the Young People's Socialist League delegates, sponsored the substitution of a "declaration of purpose," which would limit the action of the Congress to specific issues, rather than a general program. The question of "united action" rather than the "united front" seems a petty one, but what it amounted to in fact was that the Congress, had it adopted the Socialist program, would not have agreed on a common position on war and other major political issues. It may be a portent that the delegates from such varied organizations as the Y.M.C.A., trade unions, Townsend clubs and the specifically political groups supported the united-front program adopted at the previous Congress by a vote of approximately 1,200 to 25. The position they rejected is much the same as that held by Norman Thomas at the present time in regard to united-front action.

DESPITE the conflicting reports from the area affected by the Arkansas sharecroppers' strike, which the union recently ended, two results are already apparent. Wages were raised in some cases from 50 cents to as much as $1.25 a day, although it is impossible to verify the claim of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union that they were raised in all localities. And, for the first time in history, a few of the planters signed union contracts. The second result, and in the long run much the more important one, was that the strikers learned what they were up against. As it is put by Gardner Jackson, treasurer of the Washington Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers, "There is a world of difference between a heartless employer, and a heartless *armed* employer in complete control of the *armed* police force. There is a world of difference between fighting hunger alone and fighting sudden death." The workers in the cotton fields have found out that their fight has just begun, and that they must fight together. It is this that perhaps accounts in part for the statements of sheriffs and planters in several counties, to the effect that "there has been no evidence of a strike." Besides attempting to deceive interested outsiders these gentlemen are also whistling to keep up their courage.

Austria—Dictators' Pawn

EUROPEAN international intrigue registered another triumph last week in the shape of a treaty that pretends to mean peace but probably means preparation for war—a treaty the text of which remains secret, a treaty that, whatever its ultimate meaning, serves the temporary purposes of both the principal Fascist dictators in continuing their blackmail of the Western democracies. No wonder the new accord between Germany and Austria looks ominous in a world already sufficiently troubled.

In order to understand what has happened as nearly as may be on the basis of present knowledge, we must go back a little. One of the chief aims of the 1919 settlement was to break forever the menace of a Central European alliance dominated by Germany. It did this mainly by splitting the Austro-Hungarian Empire into states corresponding roughly with the nationalist aspirations of the chief parts of that crazy quilt, and leaving as Austria a small, independent state, mainly Germanic in tradition, but forbidden to unite with Germany. Before Hitler's accession to power, the Western nations that controlled the League vetoed a customs union between Austria and Germany, on the ground that it was a step toward unification; and the World Court by a majority of one denounced it as a violation of treaty obligations. Meanwhile the maze of jealousies and fears that accompanied the revival of nationalism in Central and Southeastern Europe had prevented, as it still prevents, the removal of trade barriers that would have been an essential preliminary to a solution of the economic difficulties caused by the carving knife at Versailles.

Austria had a democratic government. The Socialists ruled Vienna, and did a remarkably good job of it, considering their handicaps. The countryside was largely Catholic and anti-Socialist. Then Hitler came to power in Germany. At once a strong Nazi movement arose in Austria, as was to be expected. Nevertheless, a coalition between the Socialists and the Catholics could have saved democratic institutions and would have provided a safeguard against the new and dangerous German threat. But the Catholic forces, under the instigation of Mussolini, chose to impose a fascist dictatorship of their own, fighting and suppressing the Socialists and courting French and English favor on the ground that they would preserve Austrian independence. They were successful in this appeal.

But Austrian independence really disappeared with this coup. The Dollfuss dictatorship, bitterly hated by both Viennese workers and Nazis, represented only a small minority, and could not stand on its own feet. Italian machine guns on the border, plus Allied financing, kept it in power, and Austria became in effect a dependency of Mussolini. This was particularly true after the attempted Nazi *Putsch* which murdered Dollfuss. Mussolini posed

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as the savior of Austria, the bulwark against German aggression and hence new war.

Thus Austria first became Mussolini's pawn in his aggression against Ethiopia. French foreign policy was extremely reluctant to oppose him, in the hope that his aid against German aggression—in Austria and elsewhere—might be retained. No doubt the same motive exercised an influence for moderation in Britain. Though the League undoubtedly went further than Mussolini had expected, its half-hearted action was insufficient to thwart him, and his daring had its reward.

When the Ethiopian war started, speculation was furious as to what would be the result on German policy. Would Hitler seize the opportunity to gobble up Austria? Or would he make common cause with Italy, now technically at least in opposition to France and Great Britain? Shrewdly, he did neither. He was not ready for war, and either course might have precipitated one. Rather he played a waiting game. His main immediate goal was to conciliate Britain, and either to attack Austria or to side with Italy might have ruined the chance of that for good and all. Moreover, he did not know how strong Italy would be after Mussolini's adventure was over. To accept her as an immediate ally would have been to buy a pig in a poke. And if she were defeated, Austria might fall more easily into his lap.

Now that Italy has won and Mussolini is stronger than ever, Hitler has turned the situation to advantage by one of his surprise moves. With Mussolini's blessing he has concluded an accord with Schuschnigg. According to the official description of an unpublished text, it recognizes Austria's independence and promises not to interfere in her internal affairs. Austria, on her side, promises to relax the rigors of her cordon against German migration and literature, and to act "as a German state." It is rumored that a secret clause binds Austria to build up a large army. She will release Nazi political prisoners and admit a Nazi sympathizer to the Cabinet. Thus Hitler surrenders words and wins substance. He renounces violent conquest but opens the door to peaceful penetration and a possible—even probable—unity of international action. With this *fait accompli,* he strengthens himself to bargain with England and France. He can say, "You see how peaceful I am. You need have no fear of my upsetting the applecart by another *Putsch.*" But he substitutes his guardianship of Austrian "independence" for theirs. And all the time he works toward the goal of dominant influence in Southeastern Europe which would make him a more powerful adversary in a future war.

Mussolini also gains by this veiled threat. Does his acquiescence mean a renewal of the old Triple Alliance? He dangles the speculation before the noses of the British and French Foreign Offices, in order that his bargaining power with them may be stronger. If they still want his aid against the German menace, they must pay high for it. The fear that Germany and Italy will get together is used by both to gain advantage, just as the fear that Hitler would overrun Austria was formerly used by Mussolini to keep the door open for his first aggression.

If there is a lesson in this history, it would appear to us to be that France and Britain have from the beginning made a cardinal error in relying on either dictator to save them from the other, or on minor dictators as checks to either. If Austria had remained democratic from the first, the European outlook would now be far rosier than it is. Fascism is essentially aggressive nationalism and pursues a relentless policy, no matter how it may disguise its intentions for the moment. It has succeeded in building its power so far only because of the active help or passive connivance of those who ultimately may have to fight it. To appease this wild animal with more and more meat is to nourish its strength and ferocity. To starve it of triumphs and influence is to remove the danger.

Unity or Division for Labor

AS THIS is written, the craft-union officials who dominate the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are debating whether or not they should suspend the twelve International unions that are joined with John L. Lewis in the Committee for Industrial Organization. Since such action, if taken, would affect more than a million workers—roughly 40 percent of the Federation's total membership—it is obvious that the craft officials are contemplating a decision of far-reaching import. Must the labor movement, limited in size and influence as it is today, and facing perhaps the greatest battle of its career in the steel and other industries, be split in two, or can some compromise be found that will preserve its essential unity? Not in its fifty-five years has the Federation faced so crucial a question.

It is equally clear that no satisfactory answer to the question will be found so long as the ostensible reasons for the fight are permitted to obscure the real reasons. The craft unionists have advanced a number of arguments calculated to make it appear that their fight with John L. Lewis and his associates is based on the irreconcilable nature of craft and industrial unions. Yet this is far from being the actual case. The issue is not a clear-cut one based on the form of organization that labor unions shall adopt. Craft and industrial unions have existed side by side within the Federation for many years. Indeed, of the hundred-odd International unions in the Federation, it is doubtful whether more than a score can properly be called craft in structure—with their membership, that is, strictly confined to a single craft. With the growth of the labor movement the Federation has found it necessary and desirable to use all forms of organization, beginning with the simple craft structure and building up through various amalgamations of crafts to the semi-industrial

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and wholly-industrial unions. President William Green himself emphasizes this flexible policy in a statement issued early this week in which he declares that the A.F. of L. "favors the application of both the craft and industrial form of organization in all its activities . . . as circumstances will permit."

Two other arguments that the craft leaders have advanced as reasons for expelling the C.I.O. unions are worth noting briefly. They declare, first, that the C.I.O. is dual in character and is attempting to set up a new federation, rival to the A.F. of L. This has a strong emotional appeal, but little else. The C.I.O., as its activities plainly show, is attempting to organize workers into A.F. of L. unions. Thus the great steel drive now under way has for its purpose the building up of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, one of the oldest unions in the A.F. of L. Similarly, in automobiles and rubber, the C.I.O. is supporting unions duly chartered by the A.F. of L. Of course, the C.I.O. has given some aid to a few small unions that are not affiliated—such as the radio workers. But these were wholly unorganized before the independent unions came along and did the job.

Confronted with these facts, some of the craft leaders, such as John P. Frey, head of the A.F. of L.'s Metal Trades Department, shift to another argument. The C.I.O., they declare, should be disbanded because it is advocating a form of unionism unsuited to the American scene. Industrial unionism, according to them, has been tried in the past and has failed. The actual fact is, of course, that the industrial and semi-industrial unions are practically the only ones that have made any progress in recent years—witness the United Mine Workers. But if the craft officials are so sure that industrial unionism is doomed to failure, then they can hardly be very serious in their charge that the C.I.O. presents the menace of a dual federation.

Obviously, the real reasons for the present fight must be other than those already mentioned. What the craft-union leaders are really concerned about is the fact that industrial unionism promises to become the dominant factor in the labor movement. With the organization of the steel, rubber and auto industries, the industrial unionists would probably have a majority control of the A.F. of L. This need not, however, jeopardize the craft unions, as their leaders allege. For while it is true that the craft unions have jurisdictional rights in the mass-production industries, these rights merely represent claims on paper. Their potential membership in the steel industry, for example, has no practical meaning because they have been unable to force the steel industry to recognize them as the bargaining agencies for that membership. Thus it becomes a question of whether these workers—theoretically craft workers—are to be organized industrially or not at all. Should the C.I.O. be able to organize these workers, the entire labor movement would be strengthened.

John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. have proposed that the present impasse might be ended if certain industries not susceptible of craft organization be set aside for industrial unions. This seems to us a reasonable and practical solution and one that the Executive Council should most seriously consider. For at a time when employers are daily becoming more hostile to organized labor, a break in the labor movement would be nothing short of calamity. The stake is too great to be decided on personal animus. Moreover, the decision is too momentous to be made merely by the Executive Council. It is an issue that should be submitted, in democratic fashion, to the full convention of the A.F. of L. That is the statesmanlike way. Certainly it is difficult to believe that nine members of the Executive Council would care to assume the responsibility for splitting irrevocably the labor movement.

The Press and the Campaign

IN CONSIDERING this year's presidential campaign, a factor of great importance and one that many people will overlook is the attitude of the press toward the Roosevelt administration. Under normal circumsances the newspapers of the country line up about as do the communities in which they are published: in a Democratic city or state, the most influential journals are likely to be Democratic, while Republicanism is upheld in traditional G.O.P. territory. But this year there is an important complicating factor. The publishers of the country, as a group, are violently opposed to the Roosevelt administration. This means that Republican papers will be even more virulent in their attacks than might normally be expected, and that some Democratic papers will turn Republican for the duration of the campaign, as has just happened in Omaha. Other Democratic papers will presumably support the administration, but in such a lukewarm and half-hearted fashion that their aid will be of little value in any state where the Republicans have the faintest hope of winning.

The hostility of the press began with the efforts of the administration to impose a code on newspapers under the N.R.A. This code, like those imposed on other industries, would have set up minimum wages, maximum hours and provisions against the employment of children, which is practised by hundreds of leading papers in their circulation departments. At once, the cry was raised that the administration was striking a blow at freedom of the press, although there was never the slightest evidence to support this contention. The publishers at that time hinted very broadly that because of their influence, they expected preferential treatment and even exemption from laws enforced against all other industries. The story of this fight has been told at length in our pages and needs no repetition now.

The next difficulty came with the formation of the Newspaper Guild as a trade union of reporters and editors in fact if not in name. The government,

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having upheld the right to collective bargaining first through Section 7a and then through the Wagner Act and the National Labor Relations Board, could not admit the right of the publishers to dismiss competent journalists solely because they had joined, or were active in, the Guild. To be sure, the government's aid was never very strong and did not do the Guild members much good; but it did exist, and American publishers are like other business men in that they get angry over hostile attitudes even when these attitudes result in no important action. So far as they were concerned, Mr. Roosevelt's doom was sealed from the day when he indicated his belief that newspapers were a business, not a sacred temple of magic, and that their owners should stand equal before the law with other persons engaged in money-making enterprise.

Some supporters of Mr. Roosevelt profess to be unworried about the hostility of the press because, they say, newspapers have lost the political influence they once had. People no longer read editorials, they argue, or if they do, they are not disposed to take the editorial writers' advice. It is certainly true that the editorial page is at a low ebb today; but this is only part of the story. The authors of signed columns of comment on current affairs have to a large degree taken the place of the anonymous editorial writer, and a majority of the best known commentators are violently against the New Deal; if they were not, it is safe to assume, the number of newspapers carrying their articles would be far smaller than it is. But still more important are the news columns, which are supposed to report what is going on in the country. Every publisher knows that his greatest power to influence the minds of his readers comes from the possibility of leaving things out or subtly distorting what he does publish. To bring this about, it is not necessary that definite orders be issued to the working editors; such things are communicated by more intangible means.

It has been argued that the newspaper no longer matters so much as formerly because its place has so largely been taken by the radio and the motion picture. It is true that the big broadcasting chains are apparently trying to be fair in the allocation of time, at least between the two major political parties. It is also true that any party in power always has an advantage over its opponents: if for no other reason, because it has more bridges and dams to be dedicated with political orations. It is undoubtedly a fact, however, that the most important owners of broadcasting are Republican in their sympathies, and if the contest gets sufficiently bitter, they are likely to display this prejudice, consciously or not. The greatest single popular force in radio today is the news commentators, and as Heywood Broun recently pointed out, nearly all of these gentlemen are hostile to the Roosevelt administration.

In the motion-picture newsreels, the attempt is also made to maintain the surface appearance of fairness, by presenting spokesmen for both major parties in succession, and so on. Nevertheless, Hollywood itself is on the whole violently anti-Roosevelt and is, for that matter, about the most dangerous nest of potential fascism in this country. Moreover, William Randolph Hearst is not only one of the most important publishers in the country, but also a leading owner of radio stations and motion-picture enterprises. He is fighting Roosevelt by fair means or foul, mostly the latter.

The attitude of the press and its allied instrumentalities in this year's campaign is a reminder of a problem in social control as yet unsolved. No believer in democracy would want the press to support the administration in power simply because it was in power. We have no complaint to make of the newspapers whose responsible editors sincerely believe that Mr. Roosevelt's policies are unwise and should therefore be opposed. There is ample evidence, however, that in many cases the decision is not that of the editor on patriotic grounds, but that of the publisher on grounds connected with his pocketbook. The fact that like everyone else he tends to confuse the two does not alter the issue. A condition where the press, the radio and the motion picture can come close to deciding an election, and can use this power to blackmail the existing government, means that what little democracy we may have had no longer exists.

This situation can be ameliorated, though not cured, by an increasing sense of responsibility and power on the part of the workers who actually produce newspapers, newsreels and radio programs. In nearly all cases they are better educated and of higher ethical standards than the semi-literate money-making employers for whom they work. These employers pretend to see in the development of such organizations as the Newspaper Guild a threat to the freedom of the press. Actually, the publishers are a far greater threat to such freedom than the workers. But in the long run, even responsible craftsmanship will not remove the anomalies that arise from private ownership and operation for profit of an institution of profound importance to the public welfare. Such an anomaly this year may defeat Mr. Roosevelt.

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Blood Won't Tell

THOSE of us who still adhere to the unfashionable view that at least part of the duty of man is to be rational have recently been alarmed by a widespread reversion to various forms of medieval barbarism. It is characteristic barbarian doctrine to believe that men belong by birth to fixed estates. In the twelfth century men were born and remained kings, seigneurs great and small, serfs and slaves. This belief was an inevitable consequence of the world outlook that was based on the Book of Genesis. It appeared natural that inequalities of rank and degree should characterize the human race, no less than the animal cargo of Noah's Ark.

In more recent times the social philosophy of the middle ages has reëmerged as a biological theory of fixed estates of the realm of mind. An influential body of scientific and lay opinion declares that human abilities are inherited as land was inherited in the twelfth century. The sciences of intelligence testing and genetics are employed to demonstrate that ability, like the family name, descends unchanged from generation to generation. In England and many other countries there is little serious opposition to the view that the offspring of the prosperous classes are on the average superior to the children of the poor, in virtue of their superior mental inheritance. If this were true, their social privileges would be well merited, and any attempt to reduce them might well be resisted in the name of the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

The fixity of the orders of creation revealed in the Book of Genesis has its modern counterpart in the fixity of the average Intelligence Quotients of the various social classes. When it is shown that the mean I.Q. of different occupational and social levels descends in regular order from the professional and directive classes to the group of unskilled labor, we are irresistibly reminded of the hierarchy of animals, each of its kind and all kinds different, that comprised the biology of the Bible. We know that the pre-evolutionary biologists were wrong in failing to recognize that the fixity of animal species had not the character of an eternal truth. We may legitimately suspect that the eugenic view of the innately determined intelligence of the existing personnel of social classes is equally in error, when it denies that environmental agencies may affect ability.

A still further parallel may be drawn between the early medieval period and the present day. Then the secular arm, with the full approval of the Church, maintained a rigid hierarchy of civil ranks and powers. But the force of this savage subordination was mitigated by the Christian dogma of the equal value of the *souls* of men. The modern racialist attempts to compromise in the opposite way. He pays lip service to the ideal of political democracy, demanding only the recognition of the unequal value of men's *abilities*. The Christian stress on the value of personality blazed the trail for the egalitarian doctrines of the French Revolution. There is reason to fear that in the same way the modern emphasis on psychological inequality may inspire a reaction to autocratic forms of society.

In Central Europe the view has prevailed that the Aryan race is specially elected to rule the world by virtue of its superior civilizing agency. By comparison the other races of mankind are, in Calvinistic phrase, totally depraved. In Great Britain, where class, not racial distinctions, are of paramount importance, the corresponding view is that the rich and the successful form the communion of saints. During the greater part of the nineteenth century the struggle for existence, a relic of the unregulated increase of population and misery that marked the Industrial Revolution, did not seriously menace those who were comfortably established at the top of the social scale. They bred as fast as any, and they did not fear extinction. Thus when Malthus, and later Darwin, first formulated their doctrines, they gave most concern to humanitarians genuinely grieved at the condition of the poor. Today, however, the demon of Malthus has been displaced by an equally dark angel who wills to destroy the human race in the contrary way. We know that human populations are on the edge of a rapid and considerable decline. Many believe that the rich are moving to racial extinction even faster than the poor. It is feared that in a democratic society the prosperous will soon be too few to defend themselves and that the increasing numerical preponderance of the poor will greatly reduce the available supply of able persons to carry on the national tradition.

What truth is there in these alarming prophecies? We may concede, by an act of unprecedented generosity, the claim that the children of the more prosperous classes are innately more intelligent than those of the poor. We may further concede the existence of a temporary period of differential fertility, in other words, that the birth rate of poorer classes has not yet fallen to the level of the more prosperous. It may be true that the annual contribution of the latter to the volume of high ability in the population is declining. But does this mean that the total demand for high ability is likely soon to exceed the available supply? This possibility could only arise if there were not sufficient ability in the rest of the population to compensate for the falling-off in the contribution of the middle classes. *Such would be the case if we were already utilizing all the available high ability in the population.*

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It is easy to show that we are not in fact doing so. The fear of racial degeneration arises from the enormous current undervaluation of the intelligence of the poorer classes. The creationist view of fixed estates of intelligence, based on the difference between the average I.Q. of different social classes, is productive of a popular fallacy. Slipshod or prejudiced ways of thinking may lead us to assume that an average figure correctly describes *all* the numbers of a group to which it refers. If we stop to think, we recognize that the group may contain many persons *below* and many persons *above* the average. Recently a number of medical authorities responsible to the English Ministry of Health reported that *on the average* the income of the unemployed was sufficient to enable them to obtain a diet of the proportions necessary for health and efficiency. Few realized that this statement was itself evidence of the existence of a large amount of destitution. A mean I.Q. for the prosperous classes twenty points above that for the poor is entirely compatible with the existence of a substantial minority of equally able individuals among the poor. If we want to know the proportion of able persons in two populations the mean is quite irrelevant; when the two groups are of vastly unequal size it is positively misleading.

The discrepancy between the average intelligence of the richer and the poorer classes in a period of differential fertility ceases to be a cause for alarm when we reflect that the offspring of the latter are eleven times more numerous in the English school population than those of the former, and that only a fraction of the reserves of high ability among the poor is utilized by the existing machinery of education.

A large-scale psychological investigation lately concluded by the Department of Social Biology in the University of London has thrown a flood of light upon this issue. The main conclusion can be stated at once. Employing a very high criterion of intelligence, namely the level reached by only the top 25 percent of the whole school population, no less than 80 percent of the total number of gifted individuals in the community begin their educational lives in the elementary school, while over 50 percent also end them there. The state assists less than 7 percent of children of elementary-school origin to proceed to secondary schools, or a mere quarter of the number eligible by virtue of their ability. If we assume that all children educated at the expense of their parents normally expect to enjoy the opportunity of a higher education, and so qualify for the more responsible and remunerative positions in the business, administrative and professional life of the community, then on the same criterion nearly 50 percent of them fall below the desired level of intelligence.

There is a widespread conviction that the élite of our English intellects, those whom many American psychologists designate "geniuses," are rarely found in the elementary school and are for the most part children of the higher social and professional classes. This may be roughly true of the Land of Promise. As regards Britain, it is a myth. If we take as our criterion of exceptional talent the intellectual level of the uppermost one per thousand of the general school population, more than two-thirds originate in the elementary school, of whom no less than 70 percent consist of children of wage-earning parentage. Of the entire group of such exceptional children, wage-earners supply 50 percent and the higher social and professional classes 33 percent.

Here is proof not only of a vast reservoir of unutilized talent in the community but of a striking disparity in the educational opportunities of different social classes. The investigation referred to provides us with an objective and quantitative estimate of the magnitude of this social inequality. Thus we can say that a gifted child of the more prosperous classes has seven times as great a chance of receiving a higher education as an equally gifted child of the poorer classes. Even more striking is the discrepancy when we compare the opportunities of less gifted individuals. As we know, parents who can afford school fees can provide their duller, as well as their brighter, children with the benefits of a higher education. Attendance at an English "public school," even in the absence of a brilliant scholastic record, confers an unfading *cachet* on those fortunate enough to sport in afterlife the old school tie. But it is almost impossible for a less gifted child of the working classes to scrape into the ranks of the highly educated. The severity of the scholarship examination which selects elementary-school children for a free secondary-school education prevents more than about three in a thousand duller children from proceeding thereto. On the other hand, nearly a half of all fee-paying children fail to reach the selected standard. Thus we may say that a child of inferior ability born with a silver spoon in his mouth has more than 160 times the chance of receiving a higher education that a correspondingly dull child of the masses has.

When the facts are analyzed according to the occupational status of the parents, similar discrepancies appear. Thus nearly all the able children of the professional and higher business classes receive a higher education, contrasted with less than a quarter of the equally intelligent offspring of unskilled wage-earners. The children of skilled wage-earners are only slightly better off, but nearly half of the clerical and commercial employees manage to obtain secondary-school education for their abler children. Of the total at this level of ability only ten percent are contributed by the professional and higher business classes.

In an old country like England a minimum standard of educational equipment is an indispensable condition of entry into a large number of occupations. Lack of opportunities for higher education, imposed by the inadequacy of existing educational facilities upon the great majority of children whose

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parents are manual workers, therefore constitutes a serious impediment to free movement in the labor market, and is thus an important source of class stratification. The major part of these inequalities in educational opportunity remains after account has been taken of the relative ability of each social class. Consequently we are dealing with disparities due to differences in social institutions, rather than to genetic inequalities. In other words, we can measure in this way *nurtural,* as contrasted with *natural,* differences in social behavior. Even so, the contribution of institutional agencies to differences in opportunity may be still greater, since the inferior *average* ability of the less prosperous social classes may itself arise partly from their environmental disadvantages.

Henceforth it is impossible to pretend that the English educational ladder is already congested with traffic going upwards. On the contrary, social inequality in the distribution of educational opportunities exists on a scale that exceeds the wildest guesses of irresponsible agitators. Corresponding with the wastage of physical resources that takes place under capitalism is a wastage of social personnel, even more significant. The unutilized reserves of human ability are sufficient to promote vast increases in our control of external nature. It is not mystical egalitarianism to demand the equalization of social opportunities. The mystics are those who deny the possibility of social improvement except by the aristocratic device of selective breeding. The choice that confronts us is between an uncertain and unskillful eugenic program and the highly successful methods of nineteenth-century public hygiene, which have enormously raised the expectation of human life and physical welfare. The task of public psychological hygiene is to promote, through the control of our institutional environment, the maximum utilization of the talents and abilities of mankind. Any other view is not merely reactionary or fascist; it is irrational and barbaric.

London. J. L. GRAY.

Little Alice Looks at the Constitution

Just at this moment Alice felt a very curious sensation, which puzzled her a good deal until she made out what it was: she was beginning to grow larger again, and she thought at first she would get up and leave the court; but on second thought she decided to remain where she was as long as there was room for her.—Chapter XI, entitled "Who Stole the Tarts."

THE DISCUSSION of the Constitution and the Supreme Court may proceed on two levels. It may be carried on in the uninformed chatter or patter of the Right and the Left. This chatter or patter may be employed consciously by sophisticated representatives of particular interests, or it may be repeated thoughtlessly by people who do not know what they are doing. Since the vast majority of the discussers have little knowledge of, or interest in, the history of the past, they can rip and tear without fear and without research. There is no informed public to check their vagaries and, if there were, it could scarcely prevail over the fierce interests clothed by these vagaries.

In esoteric circles discussion of the Constitution and the Supreme Court might proceed on the level of historical information. But it is too much to expect any large number of persons to pay any attention to such a piddling conception of a public circus. It takes time, laborious days and years, to get historical information. It is not to be discovered in the "profound" legal and academic works on the subject. One only has to examine the treatment of the Dred Scott decision in the original edition of James Ford Rhodes' history of the United States to see an illustration of the truth that our professional historians have as a rule operated about on the intellectual level of octogenarians in the soft chairs of the Union League Club.

Assuming, however, for the purposes of convenience that anybody in the United States really wanted to know something about the Constitution and the Supreme Court, before blowing his bazoo, how would he proceed? There is just one way to proceed. That is to go back to the original sources, printed and unprinted, that are related to the formation and development of the Constitution. At the gateway stand the three huge volumes containing the records of the convention of 1787, edited with great competence by Max Farrand. These must be supplemented by Elliot's debates in five volumes, and by innumerable papers unearthed by recent scholarship. To such primary sources must be added debates in Congress, presidential messages, Supreme Court decisions and opinions, briefs and arguments of counsel, letters and memoirs of active participants in this one hundred and fifty years of history, newspaper reports and other materials, apparently without end.

It is not enough to read these sources. Critical historical scholarship must be applied to them. They must be authenticated and dated. For example, just when did James Madison, father of the Constitution, write this or that letter expounding the Constitution and for what purpose? Did he write it in 1787 with a view to converting a friend who had doubts about the new plan? Or did he write it after he had broken with Hamilton, gone over to Jefferson, and was up to his neck in partisan politics on his own account? The mere date makes a whale of a difference in getting at

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Madison's meaning and intention. Again, consider any one Jefferson pronouncement. Was it made while he was fighting Hamilton in Washington's Cabinet or after he got into power himself and wanted to use the Constitution for his purposes? No one except a childlike boob will pretend to sum up and present as a single scheme Jefferson's theories or views of the Constitution. Elegant contradictions in his ideas occurred as he went from time and circumstance to time and circumstance.

Only students trained in the methods of historical scrutiny, skepticism, verification and authentication can get anywhere near the realities behind the constitutional chatter; and the best of them know that they are constantly on the edge of the abyss of mortal error. They scarcely trust their own eyes in the most confident moments. Still less are lawyers to be trusted in this business. Most of them have no training in history and little sense of time-depth in their frantic efforts at systematization and rationalization. The case method of instruction employed in the law schools cripples their minds hopelessly for realistic thinking and probing.

And what is this case method? A professor of law runs through thousands of pages of Supreme Court opinions, culls out a few of them, cuts passages that do not serve his purpose (for he has one, consciously or unconsciously) and binds his pages in a bulky volume with his name on the back. (Promotion may follow, with all the rights, profits and emoluments thereunto attached.) Students of law take this bulky volume of *selected* and *truncated* opinions. They compare them, look for logical connections, for contradictions and discriminations, and delude themselves into believing that they have made a kind of synthesis out of one hundred and fifty years of ideas and interests in motion and conflict. Thus the average student of law becomes a logician who connects in his mind facts that have had little or no connection in actual life. And logic, as Jowett once said, is not a science; it is a dodge.

It is difficult to conceive of any work that is as false to life as a case book in constitutional law. Take a single illustration. In one of the fat case books on my table is a series of judicial opinions on the regulation of industries affected with public interest. It begins with the Granger cases and adds selected and condensed opinions in other cases down to the period when the Supreme Court decided to take charge of the "reasonableness" of each particular regulation under the due-process clauses of the Constitution. Here are many pages of print giving judicial lucubrations on this subject. They contain not a word about changes in the personnel of the Supreme Court or about the political conflicts that raged publicly or underground over appointments to the Bench. All Justices, apparently, are equal and alike; they are machines moved by logic of the law. There is not a word about the counsel for the railway companies; nor is there a word from their briefs and arguments. Just *judicial* words selected, cut, pasted and printed for the education of young lawyers, who may be Justices themselves some day.

As a student of constitutional law I once ground through that case book, passed an examination, and in fact *(mirabile dictu)* was awarded a prize for the best paper presented in a class of perhaps a hundred students! I thought I knew something about the Granger cases and their successors. Had I not read the cases in The Book? But for some mysterious reason inexplicable to myself I was moved to make additional inquiries. I found, in the series, events and opinions that did not seem "logical." So years afterward I went to Washington, in the winter of 1912-13, and dug in the archives. I made a list of the Justices, showing changes in personnel. I looked up the history of each Justice and of his appointment. My inquiry was not exhaustive, but I found out many facts—especially about what each Justice had been doing and thinking before he was put on the Bench—not enough but many. Then I went down into the basement below the old Supreme Court room. There I got the record of each case from the first Granger decision to the end of the series. In most instances, as I recall, the record was a bulky document, containing briefs and arguments of counsel as well as miscellaneous papers. The records in two or three cases combined contained more pages than the whole series in the case book in constitutional law. I read the briefs and arguments. There I found lawyers threatening the Supreme Court with the kind of "red terror" that Paris had undergone in 1871, just a few years previously. There I learned the names of the lawyers and I looked up their history, as far as the records would permit, with a view to seeing just how they got that way and perhaps why.

All this was illuminating; and, may heaven forgive me, I came to the conclusion that my academic study of rate regulation in the law book had been worse than futile. It had been false. It had proceeded on the assumption that the case book was getting at the truth of the matter. If silence had not been imposed, and if the clerk in charge had not been busy poring over new records just down from the chamber above, I should have cried out: "What is man that thou art mindful of him and the son of man that thou visiteth him." At the end of days of weary digging, I reached the conviction that I might become really well acquainted with the rate cases from 1876 to 1898 if I had ten years to devote to them. I gave it up, for life *is* short, and went upstairs to hear a big constitutional lawyer argue "a case" before the nine learned lawyers on the Bench.

Why try to think? Perhaps Henry Adams was right: Silence is best. What to think? That was my problem twenty-three years ago, and it remains unsolved. Yet for some strange reason I do not keep the silence.

With such a background of experience in explo-

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ration, all too limited, all too fragmentary, what might, could, would or should anyone say about the recent decisions of the Supreme Court? One fact appears in all the opinions in which the majority of the Court have declared New Deal statutes invalid. In every one of these opinions the Court interprets the Constitution in such a way as to confine the powers of government within the narrowest possible limits and to enlarge the powers and privileges of private interests. This is the historic doctrine of laissez-faire. And it is in flat contradiction to the intentions of the framers of the Constitution as expressed in solemn resolutions in the convention; it is also in flat contradiction to the exposition of the Constitution by Alexander Hamilton, a member of the convention, in his historic state papers. Now laissez-faire may be good economic doctrine, although it seems to me to be more than slightly askew in contemporary thought and practice. But it is not the doctrine of the men who framed the Constitution and put it into effect—in 1789-1801. It is a later creed. It is what Mr. Justice Stone calls an "economic predilection."

Perhaps the only practical question is: Will it work well in the future, near and distant? If it works, the present furor over the Constitution and the Court will die away as "prosperity" comes. If it does not work, something will happen. Indeed it is inconceivable that in 1950 the President and Senate will be able to obtain Justices, even from among case-book lawyers, who will look at economy and the Constitution through the eyes of middle-class practitioners of about 1896. Time at least is inexorable, as inexorable as history is merciless. By 1950 most of my generation will be in their graves, and the world which we are not to see will doubtless present different appearances to those in power at Washington.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

The Chemist Takes the Hoe

FARMING is a queer business. It is one of the very few productive enterprises wherein perhaps 70 percent of gross production goes to waste. It is hard to think of any other bona-fide business that could even consider such extravagance. In competition, a shoe factory, a textile mill or a power plant would shut up in a week, unless duly underwritten by subsidy.

But consider some of the great agricultural staples—corn, for example, which is still the greatest of American crops. The grain represents less than 20 percent of the growth weight, the plant material which must be paid for in soil fertility and labor in cultivating. Yet the best estimate of the Department of Agriculture tells that not more than three percent of the stalk—leaves, or "stover"—is actually used as livestock feed. The rest is left to rot—as fertilizer of dubious and scientifically questioned value, an ideal winter haven for borers and other ruining insect life. Accordingly, the one crop appears to chalk up an annual waste of some 150,000,000 tons of dry cellular material, not to mention some 19,000,000 tons of cobs. Plant wastes in any of the principal crops leap into the millions and hundreds of millions of tons almost before the casual computer can sharpen his calculating pencil. And all this in a technical age when cellulose and cellular materials generally offer preëminent challenge to the industrial chemist and engineer.

True, these professions have taken a pretty lusty fling at answering the challenge. Wall board, insulating board, xylose and other plant sugars, wood solvents, furfural (which may some day rival gasoline as motor fuel), industrial alcohol, charcoal, illuminating gas, artificial silks, adhesives and formic acids are but a few of the better exploited products of the gallant, but usually forsaken, cornstalk and corncob. Though plant-use research is still trivial as compared to vast delvings into possible processings for petroleum and coal, scientific temper becomes gradually cognizant of the fact that the great crops growing in our fields today may still be as productively interesting as the geological harvests from the jungle life of the carboniferous era, millions of years ago.

But commercial processing is a matter of the specific and immediate. Industrial redemption of farm by-products, as we might diplomatically term them, showed enthusiastic fruition in the late twenties, along with the credit enthusiasm and boot-strap finance. That was yesterday's child. All manner of food processors made heavy investments in waste-salvaging equipment. Such waste-saving firms as the Cornstalk Products Company of Danville, Illinois, and the Maizwood Products Company of Dubuque, Iowa, undertook to harvest cornstalks from the fields, to pay farmers a reasonable bounty for the waste and to convert it into staple commercial products. In a general way the idea was good. But the times were bad. That's life.

The idea has survived the black years of red arithmetic, and now emerges again in the guise of tangible reality. The Department of Agriculture is working to aid this resurrection through the Bureau of Plant Industries and that of Chemistry and Soils, and more particularly through the Agricultural By-Products Laboratory, a division of the latter bureau which operates at Ames, Iowa.

Obviously the farmer is no longer definable merely as a producer of food. He is a producer of raw materials, of which food is a major item. But so long as the farmer's sole business is food pro-

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duction, he is facing the reality of an essentially inelastic demand. The human stomach stays a conservative customer, and the public at large is prone to eat a little less of the great staples.

Then should the farmer concentrate upon those crops which may go into manufacturing channels and so become industrial products for which the demand is vastly more elastic than the demand for foods? The answer can't be yes. If farmers should attempt it, on any vast scale, food shortages would result in no time at all; food would replace oil, utilities or stock exchange or aviation as scare-headline copy for congressional investigation; rural tories might become fabulously rich, while the great bodies of land-tillers would again sink into the mire of bankruptcy and disillusionment.

Among all the ranks of food industries the meat packers were the first pioneers and trail-blazers in salvaging non-food products from food wastes and locating demands for the salvagings. Scores and hundreds of products, ranging from pocket combs and cigarette holders to the most complex prescription compounds and gland arousers, pituitary and thyroid extracts, adrenalin and ephenedrin, which constricts blood vessels and so makes it possible for surgeons to operate upon the most delicate tissues without danger of hemorrhage, are among the débutantes from the drab stockyards. More appear almost every month.

These non-food by-products frequently add up to as much as 12 or 15 percent of the packer's gross intake, and apparently are capable of bettering the stead of farmers as well as packers. The books of the packing companies abound with instances of paying more for the live animal than the total gross recovery of its meat.

But recovery of plant by-products is both chemically and industrially the more difficult. Any vegetable substance offers considerable challenge to its would-be breaker-up, since its inevitable components include water solubles or extractives, the pentosans or hemi-celluloses, true cellulose, lignin and ash. The materials can be broken down by various processes—destructive distillation, which can break down everything but the ash; fermentation, which though powerless to deal with ash and lignin is proving to be of promise in making commercial solvents; heating or burning, and chemical processing. All these possible courses are proving and increasing their respective scopes of commercial utility. But no one of them has as yet salvaged the lignins, which make up an average of some 20 to 30 percent of all plant cellular materials. Which means that an undertaking to save plant wastes must itself face the initial reality of heavy and unavoidable wastes.

Of enduring pertinence is the new challenge of cellulose, a recurring theme song of modern industry. New listings include at least 200 industrial products derivable from plant-cell growth. Well up in the ranks of these dark horses is that cellulose by-product called furfural, which, when refined, is a colorless liquid of pleasant odor, with an energy value of 5,985 calories and a flash point of between 55 and 57 degrees. It can be and is being recovered from such crop waste materials as corncobs, oat hulls and rice hulls to about 10 percent of the weight of the raw material—about one-half of the theoretical amount. Possibilities for cheap production in enormous quantities indicates that furfural may some time become an effective competitor of gasoline and other motor fuels as well as the base for production of various standard chemicals.

But, speaking practically, the day has by no means dawned. Furfural is still too expensive for any powerful competition with petroleums. But it is taking a place in competition with formaldehyde for use in embalming fluids, in decolorants of wood and synthetic resins, in lacquers and commercial solvents. In the latter capacity it is one of several products that have helped to break Japan's once touted camphor monopoly through synthetic substitution.

Other competitive by-products of stalk, husk and straw reclamation include formic, lactic and butyric acids and several new "cellular" sugars, of which xylose seems to be one of the most promising. Ordinary sucrose, though intensely sweet, seems to be gravely deficient in food value. Xylose, although a sugar, is capable of a dietary use favorable to sufferers from various nutritional ailments, and therefore promises to be of real value as a pharmaceutical, if not as a food staple. Moreover, formic acid, obtainable from xylose manufacture, is an ingredient for cellulose formate, which chemists accept as a new hope in the making of artificial silk.

Mention of sugar focuses new interest upon the homely Jerusalem artichoke, which is a native of America and not of Jerusalem or any other point East. Speaking competitively, the artichoke is becoming a forgotten crop, because it cannot compete with corn as livestock feed nor with potatoes as human food. But now it begins to show certain promise of competing with sugar beets as a sugar base. Its particular sugar is levulose, common in fruits and honey, from 1.5 to 1.75 times as sweet as ordinary cane or beet sugar and with an initial sugar content of from 12 to 16 percent of volume as compared with the 6 percent glucose content of the original sugar beet.

But the use of levulose as a commercial sugar was barred by industrial inability to crystalize it until the latter problem was solved by Jackson, Sillsbee and Profitt of the United States Bureau of Standards. "All that is needed now is to apply the methods developed in the laboratory to the commercial operations in a sugar factory."

It is possible that the introduction of levulose may see the tuber restored to the place of a major crop, which might be a good turn for the farmer, since this once farspread indigenous staple flourishes in sugar-beet territory, responds to identical mech-

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anization and, in addition, makes an exceptionally heavy yield of plant tops, with great possibilities for livestock feed, ensilage and for cellulose source.

Bagasse, the great plant waste in sugar-cane processing, is again proving the link between cellulose and sugars. Once the major nuisance in sugar-making, bagasse is now the base of Celotex and various other of the new fiber products that have become so common. The utilization of bagasse has dealt varied betterment of the American sugar grower. In the first place, it was responsible in considerable part for the introduction of the "B.O.J." disease-resistant varieties of cane, which even the most conservative and impartial of onlookers believe has done a great deal towards saving the American crop—and whatever remains of the Louisiana Sugar Bowl country. What is more, the wet bagasse, which is usually at least one-fourth the total weight of the sugar cane, has come to pay the farmer some 25 cents a ton extra on refinery clearance of his cane, which normally spells an extra $2.50 an acre.

At the moment, the field of farm-waste reclamation and non-food processing of what are normally food crops shows a rather definite renaissance. But any lasting renaissance must face prevailing economic reality; also the ebb and rise of food export. Practicability of an undertaking can fade, or be convincingly restored, with minute variations in material price. The opening of new non-food markets for crops may tend to swing the commodity balance to the good, both from the farmer's standpoint and from the still more pertinent standpoint of the food consumer, who must now, simply by eating, offer subsidy bounty to agriculture.

But when the chemist takes the hoe, he must realize limitations. He assuredly cannot save the agrarian order from ruin, if ruin is otherwise inevitable.

CHARLES MORROW WILSON.

The Liberty League Writes

(A Dialogue Between a Future Historian and His Wife)

The Future Historian's Wife *(Looking about her husband's cluttered study)*. When are you going to let me clean this place up for you? I never saw such a messy room. Why don't you throw some of these old papers away? These things, for instance— *(She picks up a sheaf of faded, dusty folders.)* What good can they be to anybody?

The Future Historian *(All involved in a complicated sentence)*. What did you say?

The F. H.'s W. I said why can't I throw these away.

The F. H. *(Giving the sentence up as a bad job)*. No, no! How many times must I ask you not to throw anything away. Let me see them. Hmm! I thought so.

The F. H.'s W. You thought what?

The F. H. I thought you'd try to destroy something valuable. These papers gave me material for a whole chapter of my book, "The Great Transition." If you would read what I write, you would appreciate their significance. These are the only surviving examples of some of the earliest American efforts at group composition. Not only that, they are interesting specimens of capitalistic literature.

The F. H.'s W. You mean bourgeois.

The F. H. *(A little testily)*. I mean capitalistic. I guess I know what I mean. Most of these essays were written—not by individuals as you seem to think—but by an organization. The American Liberty League.

The F. H.'s W. Oh, they were the ones that rang the Liberty Bell, weren't they? The Green Mountain Boys.

The F. H. Not quite. *(His wife's slight regard for his profession sometimes annoys him.)* You're thinking of somebody else.

The F. H.'s W. But they must have had *something* to do with the Liberty Bell. Look on the backs of those papers. The Liberty Bell is on every one. You can even see the crack in it.

The F. H. That comes under the head of symbolism. The Liberty League, if left to itself, would have cracked the bell to pieces. Don't you ever read anything? Don't you know about the great intellectual debate over whether the members of the Liberty League were Fascists or semi-Fascists?

The F. H.'s W. Who won?

The F. H. The ones who said they were Fascists. Their opponents forgot the old adage about the twig and the tree. Once somebody is semi-something, it's hard to keep him from going the whole hog.

The F. H.'s W. Is that what it says in that folder on top—"A Farmer Speaks"?

The F. H. No it doesn't. This folder, incidentally, is unique. It appears to have been written by an individual—a farmer. His name, so it says, was Elmer Willis Serl. He lived somewhere in Wisconsin. He must have been a rather unusual person—made all sorts of interesting observations. Listen to this: "Prices of farm products have fluctuated through the years. When one crop was down, another was up. Supply and demand, peace and war, speculation and politics have made the farm income more or less." There's your whole agricultural economy in a nutshell. He was right too. You can't quarrel with anything he says—except that he does not say enough. He was angry, though. Gosh, he was angry.

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The F. H.'s W. Why was he angry?

The F. H. It seems that his feelings were hurt. He wanted to be an old-fashioned rugged individualist and when he thought the government wasn't going to let him be an old-fashioned rugged individualist—well he just sat down and wrote himself an article and the Liberty League printed it. There's one point I haven't been able to clear up. How in the world did the Liberty League ever find this angry, angry farmer who lived way off in Wisconsin?

The F. H.'s W. Why was he so anxious to be a rugged individualist?

The F. H. Because he was a farmer. If you ever read what I wrote you would know that all American farmers were supposed to be rugged individualists—although they were forever asking the government to "do something" to raise the price of crops. It was sort of like a play, you see. The farmers all had these rugged-individualist roles written for them and so they had to act them out. It didn't work though. They got awfully tired of it at the end. I imagine Mr. Serl was terribly disappointed. He was so anxious to have everybody be rugged individualists.

The F. H.'s W. Were all those folders written by farmers?

The F. H. Not at all. Here is one by the professor of Political Economy at Yale University: Dr. Ray Bert Westerfield. Dr. Westerfield gives his version of how and why the Liberty League was founded. It seems the good Doctor was very frightened that Mr. Roosevelt—

The F. H.'s W. Which Mr. Roosevelt? The one with the big teeth or the one with the smile?

The F. H. *(professionally)* Roosevelt II. Anyway, it seems that the Doctor was afraid that a socialistic government was going to be established. The American people, he writes, "graciously and anxiously cast their lot into the hands of the new President"—it's a rather confused image, but the Doctor might have been in a hurry. "The Republican Party," he continues, "had been discredited and . . . the bankers, who had always constituted the pith of conservatism and a defensive wall against the inroads of the liberal socialistic cohorts, were in utter disgrace." So that was why, according to the Doctor, everybody was afraid Roosevelt II was going to establish a socialist government and the Liberty League was born. It's sort of mixed up, I'll admit, but don't blame me. I'm only repeating what the professor of Political Economy at Yale says.

The F. H.'s W. What time is it? It must be getting rather late.

The F. H. *(Pretending not to hear)*. "The climax of the career of the American Liberty League," continues the Doctor, "was the dinner on January 25." That was the occasion, you will remember, my dear, when Al Smith went out gunning for Roosevelt II and shot himself in the foot—wounding himself so badly that he couldn't even take a walk. The Doctor gets right eloquent about the dinner. "It followed," he writes, "a day of conferences that every moment exhibited a high sense of success and a determination to go on to higher things. Only those who were on the ground can feel the almost religious fervor of this movement. . . . Had it not been for the American Liberty League the New Deal would have set its roots and claws more deeply into our national flesh and it would have taken years to extricate it." There goes the good Doctor getting all tangled up in his figures of speech again. Extricating *him* would take years indeed.

The F. H.'s W. I'm getting awfully sleepy. Aren't you?

The F. H. No, I'm not! You always get sleepy at the wrong time. Ah, here is one of my favorites. I used the complete text in my book. It is called "Will It Be Ave Caesar?" It has tone to it—dignity. Not at all what you would expect to find in a Hearst editorial. This was first printed in The Washington Herald. I'm willing to bet The Herald's subscribers were surprised that day, all right. Think of picking up a newspaper expecting to find a new murder or scandal and seeing a long quotation from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall." And wouldn't Gibbon have been surprised? According to Mr. Hearst, he practically founded the United States. It's really quite wonderful. Gibbon, you know, defined a monarchy as a state in which a single person is entrusted with the execution of the laws, the management of the revenue and the command of the army—adding that despotism might easily result. From that sound springboard, Mr. Hearst takes this contortionist dive. "One hundred and sixty years ago this learned Englishman, in common with the great figures who were to fashion thirteen exhausted colonies into a magnificent nation, had learned the lessons of history, and after profound study they set forth his conclusions . . . into a document which has become immortalized as the Constitution of the United States." It makes a nice picture, doesn't it—Jefferson, Franklin, George Washington—all those brave men reading a page of Gibbon and then rushing to the inkwell and writing a paragraph of the Constitution. The thing that puzzles me is how they knew anything about Gibbon's history. The first volume wasn't published until 1776.

The F. H.'s W. Maybe they read it in manuscript.

The F. H. (coldly) That's an idea I hadn't considered. Or maybe they found a copy in the knapsack of one of Cornwallis' soldiers. Well, there are some mysteries that never will be solved. That is one of them.

The F. H.'s W. There's one thing I'd like to know. Why was the Liberty League founded?

The F. H. That's another mystery. It is as if a band of men joined together to assassinate their best friend. It comes under the head of abnormal psychology. My friend Jones has written an excellent

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monograph on the subject. It is called "An Investigation into the Behavior of Millionaires When Affected by a Severe Case of the Jitters." You should read it some time. In answer to your question, however, it is fairly safe to say that the Liberty League was formed to defeat Roosevelt II.

The F. H.'s W. Did it?

The F. H. If you ever read what I wrote—no, it did not. All the while the Liberty League was having dinners with religious fervor a man named Farley was out getting votes. Roosevelt II was reelected by an enormous majority.

The F. H.'s W. What did the Liberty League do then?

The F. H. It disbanded. One flyer in religion was enough. They found that cutting coupons was far more profitable.

The F. H.'s W. You know, Henry, I was thinking just this afternoon how nice it would be if you would write novels. Couldn't you write something about love? HAMILTON BASSO.

A Folk Festival at Dallas

NATIVE America in song and dance moved across the stage for the first time in any American exposition when the third National Folk Festival was presented in the spacious amphitheatre in Dallas, June 14-21, as part of the Texas Centennial celebration. Other expositions have had their Belgian Villages, French Quarters and Swiss Settlements, but this was the first to witness the folk expressions, which belong peculiarly to our nation, made up of peoples of so many different racial strains. Twenty states and thirty Texas communities were represented. The objective was to bring together the groups, with their folk expressions peculiar to the different regions, in the faith that national incentive gives encouragement to regional festivals and that continued participation through such festivals will keep alive the fine traditional customs associated with early America.

The participants in the National Folk Festival represent a cross section of the people of the United States. The Kiowa and Cherokee Indian groups from Oklahoma and North Carolina, and the Tiguas from Texas, belong to tribes that have clung with integrity to their tribal and ceremonial dances and traditions, which opened the National Folk Festival program. The Spanish groups from Texas presented ballads and dances from the Old World and others that showed New World influence and origin. People of Anglo-Saxon strain came from the great Smokies in North Carolina, the Ozarks in Missouri, the Kentucky and Tennessee mountains and the New England coast, with ballads, singing games, square dances and fiddle tunes. Descendants of French and German colonists from Louisiana and Texas brought typical presentations.

The Negro, representing another of the great racial strains in America, brought his spirituals from Nacogdoches, Dallas, Fort Worth and Austin, Texas, and his work songs from the cotton fields, rock quarries and other Texas communities. There were cowboys from every section of the state and anthracite miners from Pennsylvania. Sailors from New London, Connecticut, Sailors' Snug Harbor, New York City, and Galveston, Texas, sang rousing sea chanteys. The folk life of North Carolina and Texas people lived vividly in the plays given by the Carolina Playmakers from the University of North Carolina and from dramatic groups from Waco and Beeville, Texas.

The participants were generally not trained artists, but unpretentious interpreters of the traditional folk expressions. With increasing interest, collectors have been energetically recording the folk songs and dances of these groups. Yet while it is important to preserve these expressions in black and white, it seems more important to keep them as living history to be handed down orally and traditionally to future generations, just as they were transmitted in the past. No doubt many of the old customs in our country are passing, but many customs which have their roots deep in the past belong to the present too. Both the old and the new have a place in American social and recreational life.

Last year at the International Folk Dance Festival, held in London, leaders of many groups represented there were greatly interested in the American situation, because here we still have so many living folk expressions. Leaders of the eighteen groups represented in that festival recognized the importance of their folk expressions to their national life. Similarly, our folk songs and dances have value in the fabric of our national life, and if there is danger of their passing away, how can we best continue them? Recording them saves them for history, but fails to pass on the vital spark that oral transmission gives them.

The National Folk Festival in Dallas emphasized the fact that the singing of "Barbara Allen" and the fine old ballads like "Lord Lovel and the House Carpenter," used by our forefathers since Colonial days, is still a living recreational force in life in Texas and in other Southwestern regions, as well as in Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia and the Southeastern states. Education should heighten the appreciation of such traditional expressions.

With life changing to meet modern living conditions, a new attitude toward folk music and dances must be developed if they are to survive. If our people have sufficient vision while this material is still a living force, there is no reason why there might not be a transition from the unconscious traditional art to a conscious traditional art, keeping the sincere honesty and simplicity of expression that characterize the folk. Much can be done to make the material live longer in its original form if our people who know it use it traditionally, and if they help to disseminate interest among those who do not know it, so that it will be more generally used.

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The leaders of the National Folk Festival believe that it is much easier to create interest in the folk expressions while they are a living force than to try to revive interest by reference to books only when they have ceased to live. They believe that the folk songs, folk dances, folk plays and handicraft expressions played an important part in the early life in America and that our cultural roots are sunk deep into the folk materials of the past. They think that there are great possibilities for future artistic growth from these roots.

In the third National Folk Festival there were more than nine thousand participants. This represents only a fraction of the people whom the National Folk Festival has touched and only a small part of those interested in folk expression in America.

SARAH GERTRUDE KNOTT.

Vag

THE YOUNG man waits at the edge of the concrete, with one hand he grips a rubbed suitcase of phony leather, the other hand almost making a fist, thumb up,

that moves in ever so slight an arc when a car slithers past, a truck roars, clatters; the wind of cars passing ruffles his hair, slaps grit in his face.

Head swims, hunger has twisted the belly tight,

he has skinned a heel through the torn sock, feet ache in the broken shoes, under the threadbare suit carefully brushed off with the hand, the torn drawers have a crummy feel, the feel of having slept in your clothes, in the nostrils lingers the staleness of discouraged carcasses crowded into a transient camp, the carbolic stench of the jail, on the taut cheeks the shamed flush from the boring eyes of cops and deputies, railroad bulls (they eat three squares a day, they are buttoned into wellmade clothes, they have wives to sleep with, kids to play with after supper, they work for the big men who buy their way, they stick their chests out with the sureness of power behind their backs). Get the hell out, scram. Know what's good for you, you'll make yourself scarce. Gittin' tough, eh? Think you kin take it, eh?

The punch in the jaw, the slam on the head with the nightstick, the wrist grabbed and twisted behind the back, the big knee brought up sharp into the crotch,

the walk out of town with sore feet to stand and wait at the edge of the hissing speeding string of cars where the reek of ether and lead and gas melts into the silent grassy smell of the earth.

Eyes black with want seek out the eyes of the drivers, a hitch, a hundred miles down the road.

Overhead in the blue a plane drones. Eyes follow the silver Douglas that flashes in the sun and bores its smooth way out of sight into the blue.

(The transcontinental passengers sit pretty, big men with bankaccounts, highlypaid jobs, who are saluted by doormen; telephonegirls say goodmorning to them. Last night after a fine dinner, drinks with friends, they left Newark. Roar of climbing motors slanting up into the inky haze. Lights drop away. An hour staring along a silvery wing at a big lonesome moon hurrying west through curdling scum. Beacons flash in a line across Ohio.

At Cleveland the plane drops banking in a smooth spiral, the string of lights along the lake swings in a circle. Climbing roar of the motors again; slumped in the soft seat drowsing through the flat moonlight night.

Chi. A glimpse of the dipper. Another spiral swoop from cool into hot air thick with dust and the reek of burnt prairies.

Beyond the Mississippi dawn creeps up behind through the murk over the great plains. Puddles of mist go white in the Iowa hills, farms, fences, silos, steel glint from a river. The blinking eyes of the beacons reddening into day. Watercourses vein the eroded hills.

Omaha. Great cumulus clouds, from coppery churning to creamy to silvery white, trail brown skirts of rain over the hot plains. Red and yellow badlands, tiny horned shapes of cattle.

Cheyenne. The cool high air smells of sweetgrass.

The tightbaled clouds to westward burst and scatter in tatters over the strawcolored hills. Indigo mountains jut rimrock. The plane breasts a huge crumbling cloudbank and toboggans over bumpy air across green and crimson slopes into the sunny dazzle of Salt Lake.

The transcontinental passenger thinks contracts, profits, vacationtrips, mighty continent between Atlantic and Pacific, power, wires humming dollars, cities jammed, hills empty, the indiantrail leading into the wagonroad, the macadamed pike, the concrete skyway; trains, planes, history the billiondollar speedup,

and in the bumpy air over the desert ranges towards Las Vegas

sickens and vomits into the carton container the steak and mushrooms he ate in New York. No matter, silver in the pocket, greenbacks in the wallet, drafts, certified checks, plenty restaurants in L.A.)

The young man waits on the side of the road; the plane has gone; thumb moves in a small arc when a car tears hissing past. Eyes seek the driver's eyes. A hundred miles down the road. Head swims, belly tightens, wants crawl over his skin like ants:

went to school, books said opportunity, ads promised speed, own your house, shine bigger than your neighbor, the radiocrooner whispered girls, ghosts of platinum girls coaxed from the screen, millions in winnings were chalked up on the board in the offices, paychecks were for hands willing to work, the cleared desk of an executive with three telephones on it;

waits with swimming head, needs knot the belly, idle hands numb, beside the speeding traffic.

A hundred miles down the road.

JOHN DOS PASSOS.

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Washington Notes

The C.I.O. Drive as Political Touchstone—
How Some States May Line Up—
The R.C. and Politics Again

THE C.I.O.'s campaign to organize the steel industry has become of first political importance. It may easily decide the presidency. A great deal depends on whether the companies attempt to force a strike on the workers before election day in November. No outsider, of course, can foretell what they will do, but there are three or four basic facts that suggest they will be extremely cautious. One is that Governor Earle in Pennsylvania has thrown in his lot with the steel employees. For the first time in Pennsylvania's history, the National Guard and state troopers will not be at the service of the companies.

What is less generally recognized, perhaps, is that the C.I.O. is likely to have the neutrality, if not friendliness, of state authorities in West Virginia, Ohio and Illinois. Until the advent of the New Deal, West Virginia was firmly under big-business rule. But during the first months of the N.R.A., Mr. John L. Lewis organized the West Virginian coal miners in a hard-driving campaign, and made them the most powerful single group in the state Democratic Party. Few observers think that Governor Herman Kump possesses the imagination and reckless courage of Mr. Earle, but almost certainly he can be depended on not to play the steel companies' game. The sudden enmity of West Virginia's youthful Senator, Mr. Rush Holt, towards the United Mine Workers is of slight political importance; the most charitable explanation offered of his recent conduct is that he has contracted a mild case of Zioncheckosis.

By general agreement, Governor Davey of Ohio is one of the weakest state executives in the country. First elected as a strident open-shopper, Mr. Davey has lost virtually all of his big-business support and is likely to be defeated in November. His sole hope of escaping permanent extinction is to win over the organized workers of Ohio. Hence his recent change of attitude towards unionism. In the sit-down strike of the Goodyear rubber workers at Akron, last March, Mr. Davey pledged his word to Mr. John Owens, district president of the United Mine Workers, that the National Guard would not be called out. Despite repeated, angry demands from the Goodyear management, no troops were mobilized, and the Rubber Workers' Union gained a heartening victory.

In Illinois, Governor Horner won last April's primary by grace of the down-state Democratic organization. He hopes that down-state voters of both parties will elect him in November. A powerful factor in down-state Illinois politics is the United Mine Workers, and there is an unconfirmed report that Mr. Horner has already quietly let it be known that he will remain neutral in the C.I.O.'s campaign.

Against the certain friendliness of the authorities in Pennsylvania, and their probable friendliness in West Virginia, Ohio and Illinois, must be set the undoubted hostility of the administration of two other steel-producing states—Indiana and Alabama. Ostensibly a New Dealer, Governor McNutt of Indiana is a past president of the American Legion, a member of the advisory committee for the Fifth Corps Area, United States Army, and a sincere labor-hater. He has kept Terre Haute under martial law for more than a year—one of the most blatant violations of civil liberty in our history. At its recent convention, the Auto Workers' Union at first refused to endorse Mr. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, lest its endorsement be construed as approval of Mr. McNutt in Indiana. Later, at the urgent appeal of the union's leaders, the vote was reversed. In Alabama, Governor Bibb Graves has given continued evidence of unfriendliness to organized labor—the most recent case being his unwillingness to condemn the mobbing of the rubber workers' leaders at Gadsden.

In trying to predict what the steel companies will do, the new federal law against transporting strikebreakers across state lines, and the new La Follette committee on civil liberties in industry, need also to be considered. Pittsburgh lies close to the Pennsylvania-West Virginia boundary; strikebreakers cannot be moved to the westward without crossing it. Similarly, strikebreakers from Chicago, destined for Gary, must cross the Illinois-Indiana line. The law has yet to be interpreted by the courts; doubtless they will succeed in emasculating it. But in the coming campaign of the C.I.O. it is conceivable that it might be used momentarily with great effect.

A more potent weapon is the La Follette committee. At the last session of Congress, big-business lobbyists succeeded in restricting its appropriation to $15,000, hardly more than enough for stenographers' fees. However, this is less serious than it sounds, since the committee can call on other agencies of the government, including the able staff of the National Labor Relations Board, in its investigations. It has the usual senatorial power of subpoena. If it suspects that the steel companies, through suborned sheriffs and chiefs of police, are violating the civil liberties of the steel workers, it can summon before it Mr. Myron Taylor and Mr. Eugene Grace, together with the other lord high stewards, knights-pursuivant and gentlemen of the bed-chamber of steel's economic royalty, and force them to explain their actions to the country.

When these factors have been totaled up, what is a reasonable prediction? When Mr. Lewis says that the workers do not want a strike, he is merely stating an obvious truth. Until the industry is closely organized, a strike would be a disaster for the C.I.O. On the other hand, if the steel companies were sure they could command the police powers of the East-Central states and the federal government, the probability is that—long before the current political campaign was over—they would provoke local strikes by discharging union members, would rush in their nobles and finks, and would have the C.I.O.'s organizers imprisoned or run out of town. As it is, they can perhaps count on police and military assistance at Gary, the country's most important steel center. But elsewhere their control is uncertain. Many observers here believe that the companies will not act until the November elections. If Mr. Landon wins, and sweeps Republican state Governors into office with him, it will be a signal for them to go ahead, and the result will be stubborn, sanguinary industrial warfare.

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Evidence is accumulating that the Roman Catholic hierarchy—while not encouraging Father Coughlin's Union Party—is taking no active steps to oppose it. From Philadelphia, it is reported that the Democratic city organization of John B. ("Handsome Jack") Kelly has lately received a number of letters from parish priests demanding that it support Father Coughlin and Mr. Lemke, instead of the bankers' slave, Mr. Roosevelt. Ten days ago in St. Louis, the sixth convention of the National Students' Spiritual Leadership, an organization of Catholic high-school students, voted approval of the Union for Social Justice by 700 to 20. Catholic college students, meeting earlier, had tabled a similar resolution.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Steel's Bloodsuckers and What They've Got—Their Own Little Union—A Hint for Mr. Lewis

MR. JOHN LEWIS has raised his lance against what are considered the two greatest enemies of the workers in America—the steel industry and the American Federation of Labor.

In the case of the steel industry he fights a foe that has unlimited means, the support of the best lawyers, access to the seats of power, with friendly courts and judges, and, above all, the aura of sanctity surrounding its brows.

Whatever the form of organization, the objective of labor is to get a larger share of the earnings of the steel companies. And in that connection it would be interesting to take a look at what those earnings have been and where they have gone.

In the years from its organization to the end of 1930, the U. S. Steel Corporation earned roughly $4,550,000,000. These were its net earnings. Out of this, of course, it paid interest on its bonds and dividends on its preferred stock. That amounted roughly to $1,300,000,000. This left in earnings for the common stock around $3,225,000,000.

This huge sum could be paid out in dividends or put into surplus and would be represented in the value of the company and its market price.

This profit belongs to the common stock. It belongs to the common stockholders on the theory that they have supplied the capital which makes the whole business possible. If they supplied any capital, of course, there would be a basis for this claim. But the simple, well known fact is that they never supplied a single red penny; they never put a solitary dime into the steel industry. Yet in twenty-nine years they drew out of this industry $3,225,000,000 for no other reason than that by various promotional devices they had been able to fasten themselves upon the industry with the right to suck its blood.

In order to accomplish this magnificent contribution to "capital," it was necessary to work men twelve hours a day in the steel mines and coal mines; it was necessary to fight labor at every turn; it was necessary to hold down wages and to cripple labor's efforts to organize for better wages and hours.

In those same years labor collected in wages $8,500,000,000. This is what went out in payroll and of course includes the high salaries of officials. But we will let it stand. It is a fair statement, I think, that in those twenty-nine years labor was robbed in wages and the public robbed in prices of $3,225,000,000. If this indefensible common stock had not been feeding upon the income of the company, there would have been at least another $100,000,000 a year for labor or that amount might have been divided between the workers and the customers.

This is the company that now wraps itself in the mantle of righteousness and declares sanctimoniously that it will not permit its employees to be coerced.

The same thing is true of the equally righteous Bethlehem Steel Company, though its odor of sanctity has been permeated lately with some noxious dilutions. I have not looked at its stock set-up recently, but I know its history, and it is a fair statement to say that of 3,200,000 shares of common stock only a fifth of them represent shares paid for in cash. But in this company there has been the additional element of a group of officers who have seen to it that they were well paid whatever happened to labor.

It is these two large companies which will dominate the steel industry in its approaching fight with labor. It is the kind of social conscience they reveal that will give direction and character to their battle.

They will control the fight through the American Iron and Steel Institute, which is the one big union of the employers. When they objected publicly to the steel men organizing, they did so in a newspaper advertisement that was signed and issued by the American Iron and Steel Institute. The irony of objecting to inter-company organization of workers through the medium of inter-company employers did not appear to these men.

The American Iron and Steel Institute has about 1,140 active individual members. Of these 275 are officials and directors and employees of the U. S. Steel Corporation and at least another 25 are ex-officers, like James J. Farrell, and technical men closely connected with the company. Another 103 members are officers, directors and employees of the Bethlehem Steel Company. Another fifty or sixty are representatives of smaller concerns dependent on or closely allied to these two companies. Thus U. S. Steel and Bethlehem start off with a block of over 450 votes which they absolutely control in the Institute.

They will run the show to suit their interests. And so John Lewis, with this gang of pleasant barons on one side and the noble champions of the workingman—William Green and the presidents of the big international craft unions—attacking on the other side, is in for a real scrap.

One of the first things Lewis should do is to go to the President and demand that the trust division of the Department of Justice be cleaned out, lock, stock and barrel, and that the anti-trust laws be invoked against the steel industry. The steel barons are so afraid that the steel workers will violate the law that it might be an excellent idea to examine to what extent they are violating the law themselves. The President need not put himself on the side of the laborers or the capitalists, if he wishes to play the usual neutral role. But he can put himself on the side of the law and bring every law-breaking steel company to book for its defiance of the trade laws of the nation.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

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Judicial Naïveté

CORPORATION A sells to Corporation B. And milks it lustily in the process. Mr. Cyrus Q. Bunkus is president of Corporation A. But he owns Corporation B. If the little betrayal gets before the courts, the learned judge, however wise he may be, is capable of being fooled by the fact that Mr. Bunkus is acting under cover of a corporation alias.

Reorganization committees organized by bankers appear to be representing bondholders, stockholders, creditors. They do not, but are in fact created and managed by the bankers to look after their own interests while pretending to guard the interests of others. Somehow very learned judges do not seem able to penetrate these jolly little deceptions.

The reason is now cleared up judicially. It is because of the existence of a virtue known as *judicial naïveté*. In Nassau County, New York, there are dog races. The district attorney holds them to be illegal. Through some sort of technical action the matter comes before Mr. Justice Bonynge. The learned justice, whose judicial frankness rates him a niche in the hall of fame, reasons thus.

The Mineola Fair is a hallowed institution. Dog races are essential to its continuance and prosperity. They are now called illegal. But the dog racer "operates under an ingeniously devised scheme to avoid the pitfalls of the penal law. In a word, he sells purchase options upon each dog in a race and buys back such as he may elect at prices determined by him." You do not bet on a dog. You buy an option for a dollar. If your dog wins, the bookmaker buys back the option at five dollars if the odds were four to one. The district attorney says these options are illegal. The Court says they are not. "Does anyone suppose," he adjudicates, "that the delicatessen dealer who buys an option on 500 bales of cotton ever intends to take delivery of it or that the sales girl who acquires a future in 1,000 bushels of wheat will ultimately bake bread or make pancakes with the resultant flour?" And when the Court is told by the judge below that to accept this subterfuge reveals a certain degree of naïveté, Mr. Justice Bonynge proceeds to animadvert in the following classical style:

> Has not my good brother overlooked the fact that a certain amount of naïveté is an essential adjunct to judicial office? Does not the Supreme Court grind out thousands of divorces annually upon the stereotyped sin of the same big blonde attired in the same black silk pajamas? Is not access to the chamber of love quite uniformly obtained by announcing that it is a maid bringing towels or a messenger boy with an urgent telegram? Do we not daily pretend to hush up the fact that an offending defendant is insured when every juror with an ounce of wit recognizes the defendant's lawyer and his entourage as old friends? More than half a century ago P. T. Barnum recorded the fact that the American people delight in being humbugged and such is still the national mood. Nowhere is this trait more clearly shown than in the field of gambling. A church fair or bazaar would scarcely be complete without a bevy of winsome damsels selling chances on bed quilts, radios, electric irons and a host of other things. If the proceeds are to be devoted to the ladies' sewing circle or the dominie's vacation, no sin is perceived and the local prosecutor, whoever and wherever he may be, stays his hand. But if a couple of dusky youths are apprehended rolling bones to a state of moderate warmth, blind Justice perceives the infamy of the performance and the law takes its course. Sweepstakes and lotteries are unspeakably vile and yet through them we have contributed so many millions to the Irish hospitals that it is rumored patriotic Irishmen cheerfully volunteer to have their tonsils and appendixes removed just to keep the hospital beds occupied and the nurses employed. For a generation or more betting at horse races was unlawful. After this prolonged burst of morality the Legislature suddenly discovered the need of "improving the breed of horses" and enacted article 20 of the Membership Corporation Law, followed later by chapter 440 of the Laws of 1926. In a back-handed way this legislation restored race-track betting by removing the criminal penalties. But let no one suspect that our best citizens repair to Belmont Park and other nearby tracks for the purpose of betting or gambling. Perish the thought, for their minds rest on higher things. Improving the breed of horses is their aim and their conversation, aside from formal greetings, deals solely with sires and dams, foals and fillies, blood lines, consanguinity and inherited characteristics. These things a judge must believe, even at the risk of being chided as naïve, because they are contemporary America.
>
> Judgment for plaintiff, without costs. Settle findings and judgment on notice.

J. T. F.

A Time of Temblors

Wake. Listen. What's that
clatters the window? See
the picture
swing
on the wall, the
flowered paper split. Hear crockery shiver,
a scream in the air shaft: Clio walks again.
Rise, feel the floor
rock and the room
founded on land you once
thought fast. Go. Where'll you go?
Run barefooted through the streets if you want.
Police. Help. But the cobbles between
the car tracks, the whole street shimmying,
the air full of soundless big
guns going off. Nowhere
a footing? This place,
nowhere. At no time
to come; until
the city's
laid low. Go, while the going's good.
Where can you go?

One road away has kept open.
Left to the yards; they're making up
a fast freight especially for the boys. Nail
it, Bud. Shake with the boys and you ride
and tomorrow you walk immobile
ground.

FRED R. MILLER.

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The Bandwagon

Capitalism is a debating term invented by Karl Marx.—*Nicholas Murray Butler, quoted in The Student Advocate.*

The trend on the part of both the old and young of the land to want security i "un-American and not normal," asserted Mrs. Louise Ward Watkins, who addressed the Los Angeles Republican Study Club.—*News item in The Los Angeles Times.*

Political equality means social equality and social equality means intermarriage, and that means the mongrelizing of the American race.—*News item in The New York Herald Tribune, quoting Senator Smith of South Carolina, who walked out of the Democratic convention when a Negro minister offered a prayer.*

In the small towns class is measured by RESPECTABILITY, which is compounded of character, family, behavior and adequate means.—*Advertisement of The Christian Herald, appearing in a recent issue of Advertising and Selling.*

What Brute?

There is an elemental factor that separates the humankind from the brute. This elemental factor is what I have chosen to call the "profit-motive urge."—*Dr. Burton L. French of Miami University, speaking in behalf of the Republican National Committee before the annual convention of the National Education Association.*

Our Get-Together-with-Yourselves Department

Memphis, Tenn., May 28.—The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union called a general strike in the east Arkansas cotton fields today. . . . At Little Rock, Governor J. M. Futrell announced he would pursue a "hands-off" policy.

Memphis, Tenn., June 1.—Arkansas National Guardsmen marched into the east Arkansas field-hand strike area today.—*Two news items in The New York Herald Tribune.*

The Prairie Galahad

Topeka, Kansas, June 11.—Governor Alf M. Landon prepared himself for the honor that is his by a lonely vigil in his home tonight.

With cheering thousands standing outside the old-fashioned executive mansion of Kansas, with batteries of kleig lights and cameras trained upon the front porch, this governor of a typical prairie state locked himself in his library and communed with his soul.

There was no radio, no interruption to his privacy. His preparation was like that of the apprentice knight of medieval times, praying over his armor in a candlelit chapel for strength and virtue and understanding.—*Special dispatch in The Chicago Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address the Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—The Editors.

A COMMUNICATION

Deformatory

SIR: I am sending you an open letter that I have just written (in the form of a questionnaire) to the Grand Jury at Nashville, Tennessee.

Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Albert Bein.

[Enclosure]

Dear Sirs:

There has been called to my attention a news item appearing in The New York Times on June 30, 1936:

> Nashville, Tenn., June 29 (AP).—Tales of wagon-spoke beatings and use of the lash by drunken guards came today from a grand-jury investigation of the State Reform School for Boys.
>
> In its formal report, the grand jury charged Superintendent G. Newt Choate is "either incompetent or indifferent," and added that he is "unfit to carry on the great humanitarian work of the office he now holds."
>
> The jurors said they examined a noonday lunch for inmates and found cockroaches in the bread, flies in the pudding and "other evidence of uncleanliness."
>
> Picking twenty boys at random, the jurors said they found "most every one of them had scars and lacerations."
>
> Since Saturday twenty-six boys have escaped.
>
> Choate, the report continued, "denied knowledge of anything improper going on."

Thus, sirs, went the article. And now will you permit an alumnus of that school to come forth with his testimonial? My credentials, in case you should require them, are in the files at the courthouse in Columbia City, Tennessee, where you will be informed that I was arrested at the age of thirteen for "unlawful entry"—swiping some crackers and a tin of sardines when hungry, in any kid's language—and sentenced to the Reformatory, where they would teach me better, as the judge said, until the age of twenty-one. They taught me so well that I matriculated into a state penitentiary not long after an intensified apprenticeship at your school. The same could perhaps be said of two-thirds of the other boys who came out alive from there; and should you choose to challenge the preceding statement and investigate further, you will no doubt be amazed at the things you'll discover about reform schools in general and your own little one in particular.

Now I prefer to put my testimonial in the form of a questionnaire, for having been striving for years on my own hook to turn an honest searchlight on this subject, I am just as curious and anxious to get some reliable information as the newspaper reports would have us believe that you are. . . .

Is there still a $25 reward offered by the state for the capture of runaway boys, dead or alive? Do they still incarcerate kids there for such terrible crimes as stealing roller skates, or candy, or a bicycle, postage stamps, Christmas parcels off trucks, for playing hookey from school, for being parentless, for fighting in the streets, for breaking windows or shooting craps—along with much older boys

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sentenced for murder, for highway robbery, burglary, arson, manslaughter, rape, for being perverts and for being lunatics? In other words, is the age limit of that standing population of several hundred boys still from eight to thirty-five, and sometimes over?

Do the kids—they are in the majority—still receive ten to one hundred lashes on the palms of their hands, on the legs, across the back, or on the bare behind, for anything from being caught talking during mealtime in the dining room to not "pulling their tasks" and running away? . . . Are the older boys still being taken off the main line, given trusty jobs overseeing the kids, and are the trusties still permitted to carry revolvers, drink, smoke and do anything else they please?

Are there still guards and trusties in that school who rape the kids, who terrorize them in the dormitories at night into sexual practices so perverse that they would put the keeper of any brothel to shame?

Is forced labor still maintained? How can any superintendent, be he an honest man or not, have his hands free to "carry on the great humanitarian work" of such a school if forced labor is still maintained? Do the children still get beaten and made to go supperless for not "pulling their task," for not having made enough shirts per day so that the Salant and Salant Manufacturing Company, shirt manufacturers of New York, will be enabled to profit from their labor? How does the state's contract with such firms operate for the good of the state's delinquent children?

Are the sanitary conditions as intolerable as ever? Do boys still gang up five on a towel and five on the same toothbrush? And are inmates who have never contracted syphilis, seven-year-itch or gonorrhea still intermingled with those who have?

Do kids still faint in the fields while at their work under the lash and under the sun?

Some of the food you have heard about. But the hash! Well, I prefer not to ask you about the hash.

And do they still transfer boys of fifteen from the school to the penitentiary just across the river, for failing to "pull task," for running away, for grumbling too often and too loud, or any other reason for which the superintendent felt like having them transferred to the "Big House"?

Are they still lashed to the "Iron Mule" for not keeping step in line, for pretending to be sick, for a disinclination to homosexuality?

Is there the possibility that you might also delve with advantage into conditions at the reformatory for Negro boys nearby?

But above all, does the dignified state of Tennessee still hold to its offer of $25 for the capture of each runaway boy, dead or alive?

Most curiously yours,

ALBERT BEIN.

P.S. If this testimonial irritates you to the point of distraction, still it should not hamper your investigation, or be consoled by the thought that each and every other American reform school, whether it be run by the government or by the state, is to a lesser or greater degree as much of an abomination as the one of which you have, after all these years, suddenly chosen to become publicly conscious.—A. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Men, God Bless 'Em

SIR: Now that the business men on its Board of Trustees, in the name of the humanities, have so nobly saved Mt. Holyoke College from itself, that is to say from the vice of over-feminization [by appointing a man to succeed Miss Woolley as president], the time would appear ripe to save another venerable Massachusetts institution, namely Harvard College, from a similar vice, namely that of over-masculinization.

This is not to suggest that President Conant, for whom I have the most profound admiration, be superseded by, or even that his eventual successor be, a woman. That may of course come in the fullness of time, even as a mere man has come to Mt. Holyoke. But one need not wait for such an eventuality in order to save Harvard for the humanities.

There are the great graduate schools of medicine and law, for instance, where, with one brilliant exception, masculinity has always reigned supreme. That exception occurred in the school of medicine. The school of law can boast no such exception. It is masculine-ridden from start to finish. It now enjoys the dubious distinction of being the only important law school in the country that is hermetically sealed against women. This is over-masculinization with a vengeance.

If the Mt. Holyoke principle be sound and what is sauce for the goose be also sauce for the gander, this deplorable condition should be corrected at once and Harvard thus saved for the humanities.

New York City. DOROTHY KENYON.

Suicide of a Dreamer

SIR: I find it hard to refrain from sending a word of appreciation of Bruce Bliven's beautifully touching and exquisitely restrained article, "Suicide of a Dreamer" [The New Republic, July 1]. So why should I refrain? No doubt many dreamers, of one sort or another, annually commit suicide, in one form or another. This article seems to me to say an understanding word for the type, the men and women who will surrender the conventional satisfactions for the satisfaction of being engaged in making things a little better, even when they cannot persuade their fellows to take them on. Many thanks.

M. C. OTTO.

Madison, Wis.

Devaluation as Panacea

SIR: Please accept congratulations upon the "Balance Sheet of the New Deal" in your issue of June 10. It is comprehensive, enlightening, and I believe thoroughly impartial, as well as sound. A noteworthy public service to correct economic analysis.

However, it appears to me not to give adequate credit to the substantial relief of private indebtedness, through lower interest rates and the devaluation of the dollar, which I believe to be one of the outstanding achievements of this administration, both as relief and as a constructive permanent step toward checking one of the most important factors in undue concentration of wealth.

It appears to me that England's greater progress toward basic recovery is due, after earlier devaluation, first to higher income taxes and second to substantially lower interest rates, as exemplified in her eminently successful housing program based upon a rate of three percent, and yet four-fifths financed by private funds, as compared to our basic rate of a little more than seven percent; probably as far as our government can safely go.

As an active agriculturist for more than fifty years, with experience both east and west, I know what devaluation and this interest relief have meant, especially to the small operator and home builder. They must both be made permanent.

Not the least important effect has been to assist in warding off all the more extreme inflation proposals and share-the-wealth programs with which the nation has been so seriously threatened since the final complete collapse (or exposure) of so-called laissez-faire in industry and finance.

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To have had an active, flexible, sympathetic mind and a forceful and upright character in the White House and in unquestioned control during the three past disturbing years has certainly been a great blessing to our country. The versatility and even the mistakes of the program undertaken, emphasizing the extreme complexity of our unhappy situation, have been well worth while in arousing controversy and stimulating a whole nation to think as it has never done before. All costs in the open are a challenge to every thinking citizen.

This is emphatically a time for constructive, patriotic, nonpartisan voting. Not a time to change either objective or leadership, merely because some of the personnel in the ranks is in need of effective replacement, or much of the program may have to be scrapped or improved. However we vote, let it be for improvement in what has already been gained, not merely against something for which we have no definite substitute.

FRANCIS G. TRACY.

Carlsbad, N. M.

[Devaluation of the dollar could benefit debtors only in so far as it increased their incomes through higher prices received for their products. This phase of the matter was summarized in the Balance Sheet. Reduction of interest rates was certainly a help to recovery; this is also mentioned.—THE EDITORS.]

Women as Bosses

SIR: For the past two years I have had the unique experience of working for women in one of the many relief agencies created by the depression. This experience has caused me to reflect and come to certain conclusions regarding the woman "boss."

Social work has been dominated by women for many years. It is their career, and no one takes a career more seriously than a woman. They have no sense of humor where the job is concerned and this seriousness is sometimes laughable, but at other times it is exasperating.

These "career" women are usually single, and whether single or married, a large percentage of them are unconscious homosexuals, which makes it tough on a man to work with them. Then they are noticeably dogmatic and never let one forget that they are in authority. Even in the expression of the most inconsequential opinions they must set you right, which they proceed to do in their best categorical manner. Cross them and you have made an enemy for life. They never forget!

The more autocratic these women actually are the more do they give a first impression of the democratic spirit and the liberal mind. This is just camouflage and the usual feminine hypocrisy. Get down to cases and you discover a zealous watchfulness of authority in direct ratio to the motivating drive for power that actuates them. My theory is that the main reason these women have an aversion to men is that they sense men as competitors and, therefore, dangerous. But fate protect me from ever being forced to work for women again!

M. R.

Chicago, Ill.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Howard W. Holt, of Ellsworth, Kansas, writes us to express his amazement at the enthusiasm for Governor Landon. He remarks that the former Governor, Harry Woodring, also claimed a balanced budget, so apparently it has always been true. But, he adds, it is the federal government and the counties, townships and cities that distribute funds in Kansas, and not the state; moreover, he questions the benevolence of the Governor in refraining from the use of state funds to any appreciable extent either in county relief or in drought relief.

Theresa Larchmont, secretary of the Westchester Community Welfare League, writes us to describe the administration of Dr. Harry E. Hein, principal of James Monroe High School in the Bronx, New York. She relates that at the recent Commencement exercises there Philip Kaplan was badly beaten by four policemen when he rose from his seat to protest the denial of diplomas to two students who had engaged in the Student Peace Strike last April, and adds that this is the climax of a long series of such acts. All readers interested in maintaining civil liberties are urged to write the Board of Education, Park Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, New York City, urging them to grant diplomas to the two students and to remove Dr. Hein.

Rose Chernin, executive secretary of the Southern California Councils for Constitutional Rights, 129 West Second Street, Los Angeles, California, informs us that the organization is now carrying on a campaign for repeal of the California criminal-syndicalism law. There are only a few more weeks in which to get the necessary signatures, approximately two hundred thousand, and funds are needed for the work. She asks our readers to send contributions at once.

Philip O. Keeney of the University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, writes us concerning a quarterly to be published under the auspices of the Pacific Northwest Library Association. The publication, which hopes to have its first issue ready this fall, is intended to be the mouthpiece of all library workers regardless of age or status.

A suggestion that The New Republic print one editorial paragraph each week in Esperanto, preferably one dealing with the war and peace situation, for the purpose of furthering the peace movement through the use of an international language, comes from Dr. Archie J. Bahm of Texas Technological College. . . . H. L. Seeger writes that the unemployment situation can be solved by putting men back to work in consumption-goods industries, their wages to be paid by the state, which will therefore get the retail profit on the goods they produce. These goods are to be distributed by the industries concerned, presumably by the newly employed workers, and the companies will take the wholesale profit on them.

Bert Russell sends us a letter which he was given to use as he saw fit. In part it reads: "Please accept my resignation as local correspondent for the Lewiston, Idaho, Tribune. On the evening of June 28 I telephoned you complete and detailed information on a general strike of the short-logging country. Instead of giving this information front-page publicity, as it deserved, you termed it 'rumor' and relegate it to an unimportant three-inch item on the back page. I would rather lose my job than be involved in discrimination against the laboring class, and since I am fortunate enough to be financially independent of you I can still cling gloriously to that old tradition of intellectual honesty and journalistic freedom of speech. Ferne Hoff."

Jules Korchein, secretary of the Committee on Reinstatement, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, 119 East Eighteenth Street, New York City, informs us that ten active union members, including all the executive committee members, have been dismissed from the Parks Department project of W.P.A. during a sit-down strike of 200 men. A W.P.A. appeals-board hearing has been arranged but the committee feels that its case rests on the amount of protest that is registered with Mr Victor Ridder, New York City W.P.A. Administrator, 111 Eighth Avenue, New York City; Mr. Robert Moses, Arsenal, Central Park, New York City; and Mr. Harry Hopkins, W.P.A. Administrator, Washington, D. C. Funds are needed for publicity and other purposes, and should be sent to Jules Korchein.

What's on the Air?

Major-General James G. Harbord, Chief of Staff of the A.E.F during the World War, is the principal speaker at the dedication in Washington, D. C., of the Second Division Memorial to its World War dead. Saturday, July 18, 3 to 4 P.M., N.B.C.-WEAF.

Natalie Couch, in charge of women's division, Republican National Committee, and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, are interviewed by Ann Hard on the subject: "The Two Party Platforms as Women See Them." Monday, July 20, 5 to 5:30 P.M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Governor Alfred M. Landon makes his speech of acceptance of the Republican nomination for President from Topeka, Kansas Thursday, July 23, 10 to 11 P.M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Colonel Frank Knox makes his speech of acceptance of the Republican nomination for Vice President from Chicago. Thursday, July 30, 10 to 11 P.M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Work of George Mead

GEORGE MEAD held while he lived and taught a peculiar position among American teachers of philosophy. He published but little, and that little was of a comparatively scattered and almost fragmentary character. Yet his intellectual influence upon associates and the students in his classes was so profound as to be revolutionary. Moreover, there is something paradoxical as well as peculiar about his work. For his mind, in contrast to his published writings, was of the unifying and systematizing type to an unusual degree. The materials he strove to synthesize were of a remarkably wide range. They extended from the technicalities of physical and biological science to the phenomena of human life, historical, political, economic and cultural. More than any recent thinker whom I can call to mind, he felt that no philosophy can satisfy the demands of the present that does not bring these two seemingly opposed things into a just relation with one another—just, because not permitting one to swallow the other, but allowing each to express itself in its own terms.

Thus the problem that he set himself, unconsciously rather than deliberately, is the most difficult that any thinker can face. He was too well aware of the new conceptions and method of science and the new movements in social life to take the short-cut method of adherence to some one of the types of philosophy that had already been formulated. He thus denied himself the relatively easy recognition that can be obtained by developing further some already established point of view. Yet he was not animated by any zeal for novelty and originality. On the contrary, he was personally given to attributing ideas that he undoubtedly originated to authors from whom he had derived suggestions. He was original because of unusual sensitiveness to underlying problems that most philosophers do not feel. This sensitiveness took him into new fields in which absence of established formulas, and of vocabularies made familiar by prior use, made expression difficult. The very scope of his knowledge increased rather than lessened his difficulties. Judicious ignorance is always an aid to simplification. The period in which he taught was one of revolutionary change in science and one of great social change. Mead was keenly sensitive to these changes, and so aware of their quality that he was not tempted to fit them mechanically into preconceptions, no matter how current and influential the latter had become.

One cannot read any of the volumes[1] now being edited and published by a group of his former students and colleagues without being struck by the central importance he attached to the idea of reconstruction as something continuously going on in nature, in human institutions and in ideas. This idea, as developed in the first published volume, "Mind, Self and Society," exemplifies Mead's sense of the basic problem every significant present philosophy must face: How are we to unite in a coherent way the presence of those relatively settled orders to which the name of all uniformities, laws, universals is given, with the unremitting occurrence of individuality, novelty and the unpredictable? The idea of continuity, of remaking, of reconstruction, was with Mr. Mead more than an idea in any abstract sense of the word; it was an immediate and living feeling. As such it provided the binding thread by which he interpreted the great variety and seeming disparity presented by the movements of nineteenth-century thought.

In one sense, the use he made of this conception allies him closely with that conception of evolution and development which is probably the most characteristic contribution of the period dealt with by "Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century." But in another sense, his identification of the process of evolution with that of continuous reconstruction by which nature and man (as a part of nature that has become conscious) solve the problem of the relations of the universal and the individual, the regular and the novel—this identification is his own outstanding contribution to philosophy. Mead's sensitiveness—not just in general but in extensive detail—to both sides of the problem explains, I think, the seeming contradiction between the systematizing character of his mind and the unsystematic nature of his public actions. He was continually engaged in the reconstructive development of his own ideas.

It is impossible for me to give here even a bare outline of the various topics treated by Mead in "Currents of Thought in the Nineteenth Century." Mr. Moore, in the introduction prefixed to the work, has provided its readers with an excellent guide to understanding. There are, however, three general points, all of them connected with what I have just said, to which I would call special attention. One of them is the demonstration of how nineteenth-century thought was in continuity with the whole intellectual European tradition, including not merely the ideas of the Renaissance and of the seventeenth century, but those of medieval theologians. The first chapter shows clearly the connection of the scientific postulate as to the intelligibility of nature with earlier theological notions, and brings out the otherwise surprising fact that the emphasis of the Romantic philosophers upon individual consciousness makes explicit the earlier religious idea that nature is but a theatre in which is enacted the drama of the human soul. At the same time, there are clearly portrayed the reconstructive forces that changed dependence upon the authority of the institutional church to dependence on the authority of human reason in knowledge and of the secular community in politics. In the second place, throughout the whole discussion there is exhibited constant correlation between changes in science and those in social institutions and philosophy—two things usually kept in separate compartments.

The third point concerns the main original contribution of Mead's constructive philosophy. He recognizes, with no attempt to explain them away, the facts that have led so much of modern philosophy into subjectivism, but shows that these facts are to be explained in terms of active connection between individual organisms and the world, not in terms of "consciousness," while he shows the importance of the social nature of selves in making possible a common and universal point of view. The concluding chapter, "Individuality in the Nineteenth Century," is worth the most careful study. It alone more than justifies the publication of the volume. I do not know its equal in anything like similar compass for far-reaching suggestiveness.

As the reader will infer from what has been said, the second volume, like its predecessor, does not come directly

[1] Mind, Self and Society, by George H. Mead. The University of Chicago Press. 439 pages. $5.

Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century, by George H. Mead. The University of Chicago Press. 558 pages. $5.

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from the hand of Mead, but is the result of editing, from stenographic reports, lectures given by him at Chicago. As the editor indicates in his preface, there is no guarantee that the text states exactly what Mead would have said if he had himself given the volume its final form. While doubtless the work suffers from some defects on this account, nevertheless there are compensations. The lecture is more conducive to excursions and side-remarks than is the studied form of the published book. The variety of Mead's interests and the range of his knowledge were so great that there is hardly a page not enriched by some suggestion, comparison or comment that might not have found its way into a more formal treatment. Everyone interested in philosophic thought that is profoundly original and productive of creative thought in others, as well as grounded in genuine scholarship, cannot be too grateful for the intellectual piety that has made available to a wider public the wealth of ideas and of knowledge that Mead conveyed to his own students. It would be difficult to find a work that displays such constant respect for scientific method and for human values as do these books, and that connects them together so integrally without either apologetics, forced sacrifice or sentimentality.

JOHN DEWEY.

Behind the Irish Theatre

The Fays of the Abbey Theatre, by W. G. Fay and Catherine Carswell. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 324 pages. $3.50.

WE ALL know that Plutarch lied. It is not the great men who create a situation, but certain imponderables working through minor men and instigating great men to give form to the ideas that the little men cannot express. Without the imponderables, without the fermenting but uncreating minds, and without the great men, no form is ever created; these three elements must be present in every movement that brings forth an influential institution. They were decidedly present in the movement that created a national theatre in Ireland. But W. G. Fay is on the side of Plutarch. He implies that the Irish National Theatre Society, which eventuated in the Abbey Theatre, was the creation of himself and his brother Frank. It owed nothing to the politico-cultural movement, afterwards designated Sein Fein, that was so active in the Dublin of that day. And even without writers like Yeats, Lady Gregory, Synge, he maintains that the theatre created by himself and his brother would have had an existence and an influence.

This point of view can certainly be justified. But my own recollection assures me that behind the players and writers there was a national feeling that manifested itself through a few young men and women belonging to the Dublin groups; it was they who brought an audience that insisted on the theatre's reflecting some phase of the national being. It is true, too, that the Theatre Society existed before A.E., Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge joined it. But without such writers the theatre would have had no particular character and no high vitality. When all this has been noted, it has to be said that enough credit cannot be given to the Fays and what they did toward the creation of an Irish theatre. W. G. Fay, with his gift for comedy acting, with his technical knowledge and his leadership, Frank Fay, with his passion for the spoken word, were truly founders and were worthy collaborators with the poets and with the inexpressive men and women who were stirred by the name of Cuchullain or of Kathleen ni-Houlihan.

It is the historical portion of "The Fays of the Abbey Theatre" that will come in for the most discussion. But a third of the book is about the son of a respectable Dublin family who broke loose and went about the country with traveling shows; and another third is about a mature actor who met interesting people and played interesting roles in Great Britain and America. From every side, "The Fays of the Abbey Theatre" is informing and delightful.

PADRAIC COLUM.

The Stage as the World

The Theory and Technique of Playwriting, by John Howard Lawson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 329 pages. $2.50.

CONTRARY to the premise of most books on playwriting—that the aspiring playwright knows what he wants to say and needs help merely in saying it dramatically—John Howard Lawson bases his study of playwriting theory on the promising idea that technique begins with subject matter. He puts it sweepingly indeed: "I use the term [technique] as meaning the whole relationship between the artist and his material, the sources from which the material is drawn, the process by which it is organized, and the standards by which the finished product is judged." After such a declaration of purpose, it is plain that in making good his proposal Mr. Lawson's hardest job is going to be one of selection.

He chooses to get at subject matter by reviewing philosophy and psychology, and devotes a hundred pages or so to a galloping survey of the theories of the leading dramatic critics, plus the ideas of all the important Western philosophers from Aristotle to John Dewey. But it comes out all right, on ground that anyone who has looked at the facts of the society he lives in, or at the Broadway plays he has bought tickets for, can recognize as firm: that our theatre needs wider social consciousness and a clearer purpose.

What Mr. Lawson wants is better plays; much better plays than his own, he disarmingly explains. He wants plays in which the power of conscious will in the playwrights' minds will create knowing and purposeful characters on the stage. If that consciousness and purposefulness is present, he points out, the characters will be related at every point to the society in which they live; their conflict with the facts of that society will create dramatic action; and the dramatic action will show a logical progression toward a solution, or at least a more illuminating statement, of the conflict.

Mr. Lawson's desire to construct a definitive "system" of playwriting has made him elaborate his discussion of the more conventional problems of technique to a degree that playwrights may find bewildering. But the discussions of specific plays are logical and provocative. The analysis of Ibsen's work, especially, is brilliant. And the application of the theory of "the conscious will as a point of reference" to plays by Eugene O'Neill, Sherwood Anderson, Robert Sherwood and Sidney Howard is genuinely constructive criticism.

Mr. Lawson's resolute consistency in putting theory first leads him occasionally to judgments that seem absurd, as when he notes that Clifford Odets' "Waiting for Lefty" is so exciting that it is impossible to stop and analyze it and perceive that its most emotional passages are dramatically unsound. By unsound he means that the play is "sloganized," and that the climax isn't logical. You can't deny

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that—if you think carefully about it. One wishes that Mr. Lawson had substituted for his brief postscript on "The Audience" a chapter dealing explicitly with that inescapable conflict between theory and practice in the theatre. The book dismisses the audience on the ground that "audience response" can't be profitably studied, since the necessary scientific groundwork hasn't yet been laid (Professor Burris-Meyer of Stevens Institute is working on it); which *is* absurd. BYRON DEXTER.

Why the Southern Novel?

Village Chronicle, by James McConnaughey. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

So Fair a House, by Welbourn Kelley. New York: William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes, by Hubert Skidmore. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

MR. RALPH THOMPSON, in his literary column in The New York Times, recently asked a question that is well worth trying to answer. Why, he said in effect, are so many books, especially novels, published about the South? The answer, I believe, is this: The South, for various reasons, is perhaps the most interesting section of the United States today. It is a place where a great many different forces all conspire to make things happen—not only in the sense of events, like the strike of the Arkansas sharecroppers, but also in the sense of personal and intellectual adventures, like the whipping of Miss Willie Sue Blagden. And personal and intellectual adventures, from "Tom Jones" to "The Girl of the Limberlost," are the stuff of which novels are made.

Here are three more novels, then, about the South. The scene of Mr. McConnaughey's "Village Chronicle" is a university town in North Carolina. (He gives it a made-up name but he means Chapel Hill.) Everything that happens—and a lot does happen—might easily have occurred in any university town in the country. Everything, that is, except the incident upon which the drama and climax depend: the suicide of a student about to be expelled because it is discovered he has a trace of Negro blood. This involves Mr. McConnaughey's central character, a young instructor with liberal tendencies, in one of those adventures created, not by any deliberate seeking after the exciting or dangerous, but by the character of a section. Shocked, feeling that the student has been practically murdered by the university authorities, he resigns his post and takes his father's place as editor of the local newspaper. He writes several editorials attacking the university, the town turns against him, his resolution wavers—and then, like a prizefighter quitting the ring at the end of the first round, he backs down. This inconclusive ending is particularly unfortunate because, up to its last few chapters, "Village Chronicle" is an interesting, well done and thoroughly worth-while book.

Mr. Welbourn Kelley's "So Fair a House" is pretty much of a disappointment: coming, as it does, after his excellent "Inchin' Along." He attempts to seize a theme, the industrial warfare in the South; but he never manages to get hold of it. There are mills and mill-owners, strikes and strikers, but either Mr. Kelley does not understand what he is writing about or else it is too big a theme for him to handle. There are times when "So Fair a House" is downright preposterous and all that it manages to convey is Mr. Kelley's own apparent confusion and indecision. I think the same moral may be derived from both these books: If you're not willing to risk a couple of black eyes, and maybe a broken nose, there's no point in picking a fight. But if you do pick it, don't pull your punches. You're licked if you do.

Of the third novel in this group, Mr. Hubert Skidmore's "I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes," there is not much to be said—even though it is perhaps the best of the three. It tells the story of a family of mountain people forced, by a year of drought, to leave their home in the hills for the life of a saw-mill town. The man of the house is killed in an accident and his wife, who has never liked the town, goes back with her children to the land. It is a simple and slender tale, and one that has been told before, but Mr. Skidmore writes with such tenderness and sympathy, out of what is obviously a deep and understanding affection for his characters, that his book is possibly the best novel about mountain people (Mr. Jesse Stuart not having yet tried his hand at a long book) since Miss Elizabeth Maddox Roberts' "The Time of Man." HAMILTON BASSO.

In Terms of the Past

Hail, Caesar! by Fletcher Pratt. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 349 pages, illustrated. $3.50.

Caesar's Mantle, by Ferdinand Mainzer, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: The Viking Press. 345 pages. $3.

THESE two books testify to the fact that the collapse of republican institutions has a peculiar interest for the men of our time, and that the history of Rome affords a convenient medium for the researches of those who like to interpret the present in terms of the past. The authors are qualified for their task chiefly by virtue of that interest and their willingness to do considerable reading of source material. Mr. Pratt's publishers, to be sure, have tried to bait the left-wing trade with their discovery in the book of a theory that Caesar began political life as a radical, "as much hated by the great capitalists of the day as Nicolai Lenin," and was subsequently converted to faith in dictatorship when he fell prey to Cleopatra's spell; but examination of the text scarcely supports this fascinating hypothesis. Mr. Pratt's conception of radicalism is, to say the least, unscientific: he observes that "violations of social law are the kernel of radical political tactic"—moreover that Caesar was not a revolutionary, he was almost a conservative—and a good many other things out of which there is not much use trying to make sense. He is happier in discussing Caesar's military campaigns, to which the major emphasis of the book is devoted; his manner is well adapted to bring off a spirited paraphrase of the Commentaries, whereas elsewhere the reckless hurrying conduct of the narrative gives an impression of jumpiness and eccentricity that makes the book pretty hard going.

Dr. Mainzer's volume takes up the theme where Mr. Pratt lays it down, at the assassination of Julius Caesar, and describes the slow and precarious rise of Octavian to his designation as Augustus in the year 27 B.C. Dr. Mainzer's manner is more sober than Mr. Pratt's, and thereby more readable; his matter is tolerably familiar. But we shall not have a vital restatement of Roman history and its relation to our own time until writers learn to recover from their naïve amazement at facial aspects and resemblances and settle down to the serious business of analysis. A recognition of similarities is of less consequence than an exhaustive investigation of differences. The psychographic method begs too many questions; it is an evasion, not a discharge, of fundamental responsibility. ROLFE HUMPHRIES.

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Projects and Politics

The St. Lawrence Deep Waterway: A Canadian Appraisal, by C. P. Wright. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 471 pages, maps. $4.50.

IN JULY, 1932, the United States and Canada, by signing the St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty, seemed about to initiate one of the greatest power and navigation projects ever drawn up for the mutual economic improvement of two great countries. Why, then, was the final ratification withheld? Why, in spite of the most comprehensive engineering surveys demonstrating the technical feasibility of many of these projects, has the century-old problem again been shelved? Mr. Wright, a Canadian student, leaves no stone unturned in his effort to answer these and similar questions. His book, the result of an exhaustive survey of the technical, political and economic literature dealing with the St. Lawrence issue, not only reveals the crippling activities of "power politics" on the part of American vested interests, but also (without making any direct charges) implicates in these activities certain members of the Coolidge Cabinet. The volume, primarily a monograph for students of the subject, is exceedingly rich in information dealing with the work of the numerous national and international Commissions, with the crucial Beauharnois Concession, with the scientific and technical aspects of the various projects involved and—by no means least—with the extremely complex economic factors of shipping, transportation charges, traffic capacity, financial settlements, power transmission, etc. The author very conclusively demonstrates his main thesis that:

> . . . no final decision upon the construction of any single work [within the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin as a whole] should be made until it has been determined beyond all possible doubt that it serves an essential purpose in a comprehensive and well considered plan.

HAROLD WARD.

Pepys Amongst the Gangsters

Samuel Pepys: The Years of Peril, by Arthur Bryant. New York: The Macmillan Company. 480 pages. $3.50.

THIS, THE second volume of Mr. Bryant's life of Pepys, covers the period from 1669 to 1683. The book contains a wealth of new material both erudite and entertaining. Here one follows the public life of Pepys especially in the Admiralty office and in Parliament. He is always the able and devoted servant of the navy and of the royal family. Since Mr. Bryant is no Whig, the "republicans," as he likes to call them, make natural villains for the piece. They maliciously countercheck all the efforts of Pepys to improve the navy, and hamper the patriotic efforts of the King to build more ships—on money secretly procured from France.

The really thrilling part of the volume comes in chapters eight to twelve, where we are told of the mysterious murder of an upright Protestant magistrate, which the republicans tried to lay at Pepys's door. At the breaking of the Popish Plot this magistrate felt an unaccountable terror. About the middle of October, 1678, he burned a mass of private papers, left his house, and two or three days later his dead body was found on the outskirts of the town, where in gangster style it had been carried—no dirt on the polished shoes, etc., etc. This situation as well as the later accusation of treason (selling naval secrets to France, on which charge Pepys was sent to the Tower) will encourage devotees of detective fiction to match their wits with Mr. Bryant's in solving mysteries. The narrative in these gangster episodes shakes off the dust of history and rises to journalistic heights. Several excerpts from these chapters were effectively serialized last summer in a London Sunday newspaper—though no mention of that fact seems to appear in the complete volume.

The last two chapters of the book are quieter. The republicans have been worsted, and Pepys is again in the royal service. Mr. Bryant knows how to bend his learning to the taste of the time. His first volume had a deft and justifiable sex appeal; the present has a touch of detective work and some grand gangsters; in the last (to be called "Samuel Pepys: the Savior of the Navy") one hopes the story will be tuned to something more acceptably current than paeans of nationalism. GEORGE SHERBURN.

Congressional Record

The Story of Congress: 1789-1935, by Ernest Sutherland Bates. New York: Harper and Brothers. 485 pages. $3.

MR. BATES is primarily concerned with the conflict between social classes. His acute and entertaining history shows in great detail that Congress has nearly always been a fortress of the rich. This circumstance has largely debarred it from its proper function, which is to permit social conflicts to be settled by political means, rather than by armed violence. From the Jacobins of 1795, down to Eugene V. Debs, William Z. Foster and Earl Browder of our own day, scarcely a single true representative of the mass of people has been allowed to put foot inside its doors. As a result, issues have seldom been decided in Congress. Instead, they have been fought out in guerrilla battles on the frontier and, from the Civil War time onwards, in innumerable and bloody strikes.

On four occasions, however, the mass of people have succeeded in winning tangible political power: in the victories of Jefferson in 1801, of Jackson in 1829, of the Civil War radicals in 1865 and later, and of Wilson in 1912. In common with other present-day historians, Mr. Bates finds that these victories were in fact illusory, that in each case the people's leaders rapidly surrendered to the partisans of reaction.

The distinctive merit of Mr. Bates's book, in fact, lies in the exactness of detail with which he shows the immediate circumstances of each surrender. Confining himself rigidly to the story of Congress, he follows each reform program, step by step, through the legislative process, and shows the Senator or Representative who reversed his vote and why. Repeatedly the reactionaries, after having been roundly beaten at the polls, succeed in capturing the people's leaders, sometimes for cash in hand, more often by persuasion, flattery and veiled appeals to class and sectional loyalty.

Having observed one hundred and forty-six years of Congress beneath his microscope, Mr. Bates is not sanguine about the future. He believes that equality of status is a dream that Americans will not abandon, and for which, if necessary, they will ultimately fight. This equality of status cannot be reconciled with the concentration of ownership in the hands of the few. "If capitalism cannot be abolished, controlled, or even modified by democratic means," Mr. Bates writes, "then it is as certain as the rising of tomorrow's sun that other less intrinsically desirable, but more effective, means will be adopted." Our national

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political institutions, normally controlled by a few hundred men acting as the agents of ownership, have never in the past sufficed to give full expression to the popular will. Only if these institutions can be given over into the keeping of the mass of people, as they could be by the establishment of a strong labor party, is democracy likely to survive.

JONATHAN MITCHELL.

Books in Brief

This Modern Poetry, by Babette Deutsch. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 284 pages. $2.75.

THE PURPOSE of this book is most ambitious: "to trace the development of the verse of the past two decades, to take some account of the forces which have shaped it, and to suggest ways of understanding it." Miss Deutsch has a considerable knowledge of English and American verse, but she has not read her poets passionately enough to emerge with new truths regarding them. The result is neither criticism nor literary history, but a compendium of common knowledge. Especially familiar is the material in the chapters "Returning to Realism," "Imagists and Their Bequest," "Bearers of Tradition." The sections on Yeats, Hopkins and the young Englishmen are written with more authority and make one wish the author had attempted another sort of book. At times judgments are influenced by Sunday-supplement reputation: Louise Bogan gets part of a sentence; Louis MacNeice and Stanley J. Kunitz are not mentioned at all. T. R.

The Restless Universe, by Max Born. Translated by Winifred M. Deans. New York: Harper and Brothers. 278 pages, plates. $2.50.

"It is odd," writes this eminent scientist and mathematician, now of the faculty of Cambridge University, "that there is a word for something which, strictly speaking, does not exist, namely, 'rest.'" This opening prepares the reader for an exceptionally clear and—despite much elementary mathematics—understandable account of the physical universe. Aided by an ingenious series of marginal pictures arranged in cinematic sequence, we are introduced to the eternal flux of matter and energy, as we know it in the microcosm of the atom. There are five chapters: on the air and atmospheric phenomena; on electrons and ions; on waves and particles (including the quantum mechanics of Planck); on the electronic structure of the atom; and on nuclear physics (in which we meet with a bewildering yet ordered retinue of deuterons, neutrons, positrons, magnetons). What a thorough understanding and a clear style can do to make these abstruse subjects plain to us, Professor Born has done. But, in his very last paragraph, he allows the familiar black theological cat out of the bag: "The scientist's urge to investigate, like the faith of the devout or the inspiration of the artist, is an expression of mankind's longing for something fixed, something at rest in the universal whirl: God, Beauty, Truth." H. W.

The 6,000 Beards of Athos, by Ralph H. Brewster. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 219 pages. $4.

In Greece, Ralph Brewster heard so much about the 6,000 Holy Beards that he became interested in family life on Mt. Athos, a promontory that is the home of about 5,000 Greek-Orthodox monks, governed by a council of representatives from the twenty sovereign monasteries. Among the monks, Mr. Brewster met individual types as far apart as

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Saint Simeon Stylites and Friar Tuck; some of them had been brigands, some had been sailors and others had sacrificed worldly wealth and prestige in the quest for solitude. Some of the monastic groups were completely communistic, sharing everything in common, and others had a division of labor and standards of income. Each monastery owned a house in Karyes, the capital of the island, and each maintained a guesthouse. There was much diversity among neighboring communities: the Serbs of Chilanderi lived well and were hospitable; the Bulgarians of Zographon were churlish; the Russian monastery of Saint Pantaleimon was the spearhead of the Tsarist intrigue in the Balkans and was heavily subsidized, but is now a decaying institution for old men. The Levantine sex tradition is versatile, and so the absence of women has not solved anything. Mr. Brewster was accompanied by a young actor who "did not look typically Greek, but more like an Arab beauty from Africa," and this companion was continually being pestered by the good brothers. J. G.

The Tumult and the Shouting, by George Slocombe. New York: The Macmillan Company. 437 pages. $3.50.

All the great people who took advice from George Slocombe and admired his red beard. These are the inconsequential memoirs of a man who photographs well and never lets you forget it. M. C.

Under Green Apple Boughs, by Lucile Grebenc. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 280 pages. $2.

Here is an idyl for ladies with a hoe. If your shoes are worn thin looking for a job, and you dream about apple orchards, read Lucile Grebenc's account of how she thumbed her nose at the city and coaxed a year's subsistence from an unweeded garden in Connecticut. F. V.

A Correction

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, to whom we referred in the Contributors' Box of The New Republic of June 24 as Director of Publications for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the editor of The Crisis, no longer holds those positions, but is professor of Sociology in Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, and the editor of a proposed Encyclopedia of the Negro.

Contributors

J. L. GRAY is a member of the faculty of the London School of Economics.

CHARLES A. BEARD'S new book, "The Discussion of Human Affairs," has just been published by Macmillan.

CHARLES MORROW WILSON is the author of "Backwoods America," "Rabble Rouser" and "Roots of America," as well as being a frequent contributor to the leading magazines. He lives on a farm near Newfane, Vermont.

HAMILTON BASSO is well known for his novels about the South and for his reports of Southern politics.

SARAH GERTRUDE KNOTT was the director of the National Folk Festival at the Texas Centennial Central Exposition in Dallas.

JOHN DOS PASSOS' contribution to this issue forms the epilogue to "The Big Money," the final book of a trilogy to be published in August by Harcourt, Brace.

FRED R. MILLER was editor of the magazine Blast.

ALBERT BEIN is the author of the play "Let Freedom Ring" and of several other plays and novels, two of which, "Youth in Hell" and "Little Ol' Boy," treat of life in the reform school he describes here. He has recently been awarded a Guggenheim fellowship.

JOHN DEWEY'S latest book is "Liberalism and Social Action," published last fall by Minton, Balch.

PADRAIC COLUM is a member of the Irish Academy of Letters. His most recent volume is "The Legend of St. Columba."

BYRON DEXTER, a member of the staff of The New Republic, is the author of several plays.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES, poet and critic, is working on a book of criticism dealing with poets of the last twenty years.

HAROLD WARD'S special interest is in the social implications of science and technology, on which subject he has written reviews and articles for various publications.

GEORGE SHERBURN, a professor at the University of Chicago, is at present working on a complete edition of the correspondence of Alexander Pope. In 1936-37 he will be a visiting professor at Columbia University.

JONATHAN MITCHELL, author of many articles on politics and current affairs, lives in Washington, D. C.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Theodore Roethke, Harold Ward, Joe Gould, Malcolm Cowley and Frances Valensi.

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